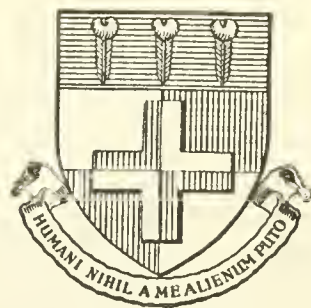


EX LIBRIS

LONDON HOSPITAL
MEDICAL COLLEGE



PRESENTED BY

Dr. H.E.S. Stiven..

August, 1948.



22500272683

17-2

LONDON HOSPITAL
MEDICAL COLLEGE
LIBRARY
~~CANCELLED~~

THE SCIENCE OF SEX



Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2014 with funding from
Wellcome Library

<https://archive.org/details/b20442713>

THE
SCIENCE OF SEX

AN ESSAY TOWARDS THE PRACTICAL SOLUTION

OF THE

SEX PROBLEM

BY

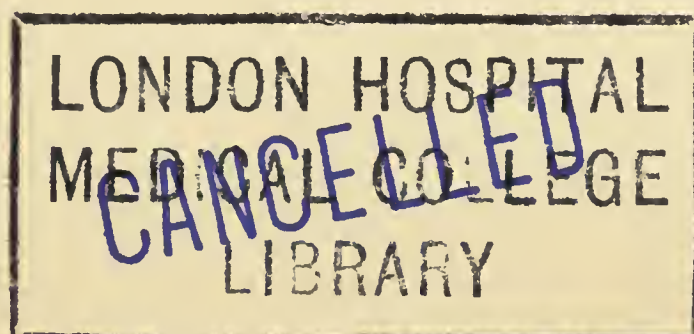
JOHN ALLEN GODFREY

LONDON

THE UNIVERSITY PRESS, LIMITED

2, BROAD STREET BUILDINGS, E.C.

1901



0-00

THE UNIVERSITY PRESS	
WELLCOME INSTITUTE LIBRARY	
Coll.	welM Omæc
Call	
No.	WM

LONDON HOSPITAL
MEDICAL COLLEGE
LIBRARY
CANCELLED

5704.

TO MY BEST FRIEND
THIS BOOK IS DEDICATED

CONTENTS.

PART I.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTORY.

- I.—Two preliminary questions—The possibility of a science of sex—Its desirability—Popular notion of love—Based on a religious fallacy—Love, evolution, and the “soul.”
- II.—A Science of Sex impossible if popular notions of love correct—Love an emotion—Science of Sex inseparable from moral questions—Consequent opposition to free investigation of sexual matters—Alleged moral dangers of such investigation—“Unsettling” effect of inquiry considered—Weak faith of the orthodox moralist.
- III.—Hard and fast ideals of sexual conduct—Their absurdity—Our sexual ills—Practical moral efforts demanded—Moral principles necessarily progressive—Marriage laws an example of moral evolution—Human welfare the practical standard of morality.
- IV.—Sexual problems must be studied scientifically—Effect of this study on sexual emotions—Erotic influence of popular literature—Sexual curiosity and scientific investigation.
- V.—The infinite virtue of knowledge—Need of moral pioneers—Aim and method of succeeding chapters.

CHAPTER II.

THE EVOLUTION OF SEX.

- I.—The nature of sex—Male and female elements in reproduction—Sexual and reproductive phenomena correlated—The method of study.
- II.—Simplest forms of reproduction—Protoplasmic activity—Its outcome in growth—Growth results in reproduction by fission—Reproduction by conjugation.

- III.—Male and female cells—The dawn of sexual reproduction—Primitive sexual attraction—Sexual phenomena in micro-organisms—From cell to organism—Specialised sexual cells—The earliest reproductive organs.
- IV.—Hermaphroditism—Alternation of sexual character—The evolution of definitely sexual organisms—The sexual bias—Anabolism and katabolism.
- V.—The mechanism of reproduction—Evolution of reproductive act—Copulation—Sexual attraction in the higher animals—The “mystery” of sexual reproduction.

CHAPTER III.

THE PHYSIOLOGY OF SEX.

- I.—The mechanism of reproduction in man—Production of sex cells and their union—The male sexual organs—Divided into three classes: those for production, storing, and expulsion—Nature of spermatozoa—Sexual organs in the female.
- II.—The reproductive act—Its nature and mechanism—Nature’s prodigality in production of spermatozoa—The survival of the fittest.
- III.—The development of the embryo—The functions of the womb—The placenta—Maternal sacrifice—The crisis of birth.
- IV.—Puberty—External evidences in both sexes—Menstruation—Its nature and effects—Theories regarding it—Menstruation and “rut”—Menstruation as disappointed impregnation—Sexual intercourse during menstrual period prohibited—Religious superstition.
- V.—The monthly sexual rhythm in woman—Has it a parallel in man?—Sex in relation to the whole organism.

CHAPTER IV.

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF SEX.

- I.—The higher and lower sex passions—Love and lust differ in degree, not kind—Evolution of sexual emotion—Its relation to organic development.
- II.—Sexual emotions and the reproductive organs—Their relations—Emotions not altogether dependent on development or entirety of genital organs—Sexual desire before puberty—Effects of castration on sexual emotions—Effects of genital exhaustion.

- III.—The five senses and the sexual instinct—The sense of touch—Touch the primitive sexual language—Its electrical character—"Magnetic" personalities—The electrical basis of mutual sympathy.
- IV.—The sense of sight—Beauty and the sex instinct—"Love at first sight"—Erotic association and the sense of sight—Erotic suggestion—The sense of hearing—Similar relations to the sex instinct—The sense of taste—The sense of smell—Its unappreciated importance.
- V.—The senses the basis of sexual emotion—Development of intellectual love—Complexity of sex passion—Herbert Spencer's analysis—Love and personal exaltation—The irresistibility of sex passion—Its organic source—Types of sex passion.

CHAPTER V.

MAN AND WOMAN.

- I.—Current ignorance of physical and other differences between the sexes—Some obvious physical differences—Large size of males—Its meaning.
- II.—The large pelvis of woman—Its relation to the function of maternity—Nature's dilemma—Why genius is rare—Pelvis the seat of sexual emotions—These emotions more predominant in woman than in man—Woman's greater "affectability"—Influence of education on woman's emotions—Emotional life of men and women compared.
- III.—The suppression of sexual emotion by will power—Its result in women—The sexual purist—De-sexualised women—The "third sex."
- IV.—Intellectual superiority of man—Its organic cause—Women in philosophy, literature, art, music, and the drama—Their inferiority analysed—Intellect not sole or even highest standard—Moral equality of the sexes.
- V.—Woman's past and future—Her personal and economic emancipation—Woman's industries compared with man's—Feminine weaknesses and limitations—Women in trade unions—Their failure.

PART II.

THE SEX LIFE.

INTRODUCTION.

The practical nature of the sex question—Sexual dogmatism—The scientific ideal of the sex life—The various solutions to be compared with that ideal.

CHAPTER I.

MARRIAGE.

- I.—The sanctity of marriage—Marriage a superstition—Marriage and its miseries—The evolution of marriage.
- II.—The definition of marriage—Marriage customs in animals—In the apes—Polygamous apes and monogamous apes—Love of offspring—Animal societies maternal in character—Monogamous animals not superior to polygamous.
- III.—Marriage in primitive human societies—Primitive sexual promiscuity a fallacy—How the fallacy arose—Polygamy in savage man—Its outcome in the subjection of women—Monogamy in man—Its evolution from polygamy—Monogamy an imposition—Modern conditions a compromise between polygamous instincts and monogamous customs—Futility of suggested cures for sexual evils.
- IV.—Monogamy the ideal union—The duality of man—Monogamy and inheritance—Monogamy essentially independent of religious and legal sanctions—Rigidity of marriage laws due to priestly influence.
- V.—The economic factor in marriage—Dependence of women—Is the marriage bargain fair?—The freedom of wives—The influence of children on marital life—Moral and immoral marriages—Why marriage is a failure.

CHAPTER II.

CELIBACY.

- I.—Celibacy a negation of sexuality—The evolution of celibacy—Influence of religion—Ecclesiastical celibacy—How chastity became a virtue—Celibacy and the marriage bond—Economic factor in spread of celibacy.
- II.—Physical effects of celibacy—Celibacy a contradiction of scientific ideal—Exercise of sexual organs essential to complete health—Organic results of sexual suppression—The involuntary orgasm in relation to celibacy.
- III.—Emotional effects—Dependence of sex passion on its physical expression—Contenance and nervous irritation—Futility of suggested cures for nervous results of sexual suppression—The emotional starvation of celibacy—Its effect on women.
- IV.—Intellectual effects—Renan *v.* Guyau—The celibate genius—Is he a safe guide for normal individuals?—Intellectual and genital energy—Sexual activity as an intellectual stimulus.
- V.—Educative value of complete sexual life—Sexual intercourse and mutual knowledge—The sex life an arena for exercise of moral qualities—Celibacy and self-restraint—The immorality of celibacy.

CHAPTER III.

MASTURBATION.

- I.—Unanimous opinion on practice of masturbation—Necessity for scientific investigation—The influence of moral and religious prejudice on current opinions—Alleged symptoms of masturbation—Reasons for doubting their validity—Is masturbation prevalent?
- II.—The evolution of masturbation—Masturbation in animals—Is masturbation “unnatural”?—The habit in savage and barbarous societies—Regarded with indifference until advent of Christianity—Baneful influence of medical opinion—Masturbation a “colossal bogey.”
- III.—What masturbation really is—Its relations to normal coitus—An electrical parallel—Depressing effect of masturbation—Evil results of the habit exaggerated—Masturbation and remorse—The true source of the moral evils of masturbation—Masturbation and cynicism.

- IV.—The benefits of masturbation—As a nervous sedative—The spontaneous orgasm reconsidered—Masturbation as a moral safety-valve—Its influence in reducing sexual crime and immorality.
- V.—Prevalence of masturbation increasing—Psychological and economic causes—Masturbation as a solution of the sex problem—Its fundamental failure.

CHAPTER IV.

PROSTITUTION.

- I.—The anomaly of prostitution—Prostitution in primitive societies—Its relation to marriage—Women as possessions—The prostitutes of ancient Greece.
- II.—Religious prostitution—The influence of Christianity—Causes of prostitution—Prostitution as a palliative of monogamy—The economic factor.
- III.—The personnel of prostitution—Courtesans—Prostitutes by nature and by circumstance—Are prostitutes sexually abnormal?—Various classes of prostitute—Moral degradation of prostitution—The “prostitute-wife”—Influence of ostracism on the prostitute.
- IV.—Physical effects of prostitution—Venereal contagion—Police regulation—The French system—Contagious Diseases Acts—“State regulation of vice”—Prostitution and alcoholism.
- V.—The social influence of prostitution—Its physiological function—Its moral drawbacks—The cure of prostitution.

CHAPTER V.

SEXUAL INVERSION.

- I.—Inversion defined—Its relation to debauchery—Inversion in animals—Two kinds of inversion: inborn and accidental—Inversion in ancient times—Influence of Christianity—Modern scientific study of the invert.
- II.—The constitutional invert—Havelock Ellis's cases—Inversion an organic twist—Can inversion be acquired?—The invert as he sees himself—Organic origin of inversion—Inversion an abnormality—The invert and the criminal—High intellectual capability of typical invert.

- III.—The casual invert—Homosexuality and the military life—Influence of school life—Male prostitution—Love disappointment a cause of homosexuality—The cure of the casual invert.
- IV.—The cure of the constitutional invert—Schrenck-Notzing's treatment—A real cure impossible—Its social inadvisability—Inversion and chastity—The true ideal for the invert.
- V.—Inversion and the law—Homosexuality under the Code Napoléon—Under the English law—The repressive effect of legal penalties considered—Arguments against legal interference—Homosexuality as an offence against taste—The law and public opinion—The future of inversion.

CHAPTER VI.

THE LIMITATION OF POPULATION.

- I.—Malthus's "Essay"—Population and poverty—Natural and prudential checks on population—Malthus's three propositions—His cure for over-population.
- II.—Anti-malthusian arguments—Spencer's theory of progress in relation to fertility—Progress a cure for its own evils—Darwin's position—Is over-population beneficial?
- III.—The Malthusian cure worse than the disease—The Malthusian dilemma—Solved by Neo-malthusianism—The preventive check—General objections considered—"Interference with Nature"—Morality of preventive check—Its social advantages.
- IV.—Various forms of preventive check—Their advantages and disadvantages.
- V.—Neo-malthusianism in practice among rich and poor—The example of France—Population and national greatness—The preventive check and sexual excess—Its influence on marriage and illicit relations—Also on the parental instinct—The future of Neo-malthusianism.

CHAPTER VII.

THE SCIENTIFIC IDEAL.

- I.—The scientific ideal re-defined—The essential benefit of sexuality—Sexual ideal the antithesis of celibacy—Ideal sex life strictly monogamous—The fallacy of free-love—Offspring in relation to the sex question—The family, the parent, and the state—M. Letourneau's prophecy—Polygamy and the sexual ideal.

- II.—Marriage and the monogamous ideal—Marriages of convenience—Affection the essential condition of the morality of sexual unions—The new attitude towards illicit unions—Their morality discussed—The non-social nature of the sexual life—The regulation of sex unions—Illicit unions and the preventive check—Their relation to the sexual ideal.
- III.—Marriage and illicit unions—The illicit union as a preparation for marriage—Its effect on the laws of legitimacy—The justification of these laws considered—Effect of ostracism of bastards—The real duty of society.
- IV.—Divorce and separation—Their justification—The faults of existing laws—Marital misery and the marriage bond—Incompatibility of temper a just cause of divorce—The petty tyrannies of married life—The scientific view of the dissolution of marriage.
- V.—Practical difficulties of the sexual ideal—Sexual grossness—Seduction and desertion—Sexual abnormalities—The evolution of character itself a drawback—Counteracting influence of sexual experience.
- VI.—The sexual ideal and the education of women—Women and social conventions—The economic independence of women—Its effect on the marriage contract—On sexual relations in general—Women have the solution of the sexual problem in their own hands.

PART I.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTORY.

- I.—Two preliminary questions—The possibility of a science of sex—Its desirability—Popular notion of love—Based on a religious fallacy—Love, evolution, and the “soul.”
- II.—A Science of Sex impossible if popular notions of love correct—Love an emotion—Science of Sex inseparable from moral questions—Consequent opposition to free investigation of sexual matters—Alleged moral dangers of such investigation—“Unsettling” effect of inquiry considered—Weak faith of the orthodox moralist.
- III.—Hard and fast ideals of sexual conduct—Their absurdity—Our sexual ills—Practical moral efforts demanded—Moral principles necessarily progressive—Marriage laws an example of moral evolution—Human welfare the practical standard of morality.
- IV.—Sexual problems must be studied scientifically—Effect of this study on sexual emotions—Erotic influence of popular literature—Sexual curiosity and scientific investigation.
- V.—The infinite virtue of knowledge—Need of moral pioneers—Aim and method of succeeding chapters.

I.—At the outset of any discussion of the problems of sex on a scientific basis, two propositions must be stated and agreed upon. The first is that a science of sex is possible, more especially in regard to the human race. The second is that, granted such a science to be a possible thing, it is also desirable. In the present state of public opinion, both propositions are perhaps equally difficult to commend to the bulk even of educated people. There is a strong

and widespread habit of regarding love—which is sex in its higher aspects—as a thing not to be reasoned about, as a marvel too spiritual and too elusive to be included in the range of science. Accompanying this habit there is a strong prejudice against the open discussion of sex in its practical human aspects. Both these obstacles to the progress of the science of sex will probably, nay certainly, disappear with the progress of education and culture; in the meantime they stand upon the very threshold of such an investigation as the present. Until it is shown that even the most spiritual qualities of love are amenable to scientific treatment, a complete science of sex need never be thought of. Until, moreover, the scientific study of sex problems is shown to be of value to moral health, it should never be undertaken.

The first proposition will be proved in detail in the chapters that follow. It is too important a subject to be fully dealt with at short range. It involves a careful analysis of love itself, of its origin, its development, of its manifold characters in both men and the lower animals. Strictly speaking, it cannot be proved that a science of sex is possible until such a science is constructed. The doubter will only be convinced when the man of science has shown that every feature of love, every one of its vagaries and mysteries, is subject to the laws of cause and effect. All that can be done in this introductory chapter is to offer a few general arguments on the subject. These will show that it is possible at least to include the laws of love in the laws of science, that the passion which the poet sings is in all probability as much a matter for science as the rhythmic beats of the organ wherefrom the emotion of love is popularly supposed to spring.

The majority of people are accustomed to divide love

into two distinct compartments, the sensual and the spiritual. The former they regard as the love of brutes, human and otherwise. The latter they regard as the peculiar possession of higher humanity, the distinguishing mark of the aristocracy of creation. Sometimes they even picture the two forms of love struggling for mastery in one and the same individual. On the one hand the lusts of the flesh clamour for satisfaction; on the other there is the clear call to a pure and chivalrous affection wherein passion has no place. Many a story has been built upon this heart-struggle; many a terrible tale has been told of the doom that follows on the baser choice; many a glorious vision has been pictured of the reward that awaits the victor. But we shall not have proceeded far in a scientific analysis of the sex-passion before we realise that it cannot be split up into two opposing halves. Indeed, such a conception of love is too simple to be anything but false. It owes its long and vigorous life mainly to its association with a wide-spread religious idea.

Man, according to this idea, is a double being. He possesses a soul and a body, the one spiritual and immortal, the other material and evanescent. This is the view that religion has taught for centuries; it lies at the root of almost every doctrine taught by the churches. And it has lent the popular theory of spiritual and physical love all the plausibility that fallacies so often possess. It has made it the most natural thing in the world to treat the higher love as a faculty of the soul and passion as a faculty of the body. To the sincere believer, the words, "I love you with all my soul," are not merely an extravagant metaphor. They are an actual truth; he means that he loves with his immortal half, the essential and permanent part of his being. Thus he pictures his love as eternal, while

the passions of his material being are delusive things of the moment.

The connection between religion and love has always been a close one, and here they are indeed at one. So long as men believe that they are a combination of spiritual soul and material body, so long will they accept the theory that love is similarly a double thing, one half pure and everlasting, the other bestial and evanescent. Hence the immediate importance, and indeed the necessity, of showing that this religious conception of man's nature has not a single fact to support it.

This may appear to be an absurdly sweeping statement, but it is nevertheless quite true. No one has ever been able to bring forward a single clear fact to prove that there is such a thing as the human soul as pictured in orthodox theology. Even the Theosophists, that old-new group of students of spiritual "phenomena," are discredited by all save themselves. They represent the latest effort to bring the "soul" within human ken; their failure is as pathetic as their child-like faith in their ultimate success. The reason of their failure and that of the theologians who have also an interest in the soul, is not far to seek. For it is plain that the soul must be either material or immaterial. If the latter, it can by no means be discovered by those senses which we use to apprehend facts—it is outside the range of our powers of observation. If, on the other hand, it is material, then it cannot be immortal, the essential feature of matter being constant change. Either alternative denies us proof of the existence of the immortal soul.

The theologians of to-day seem to have more than an inkling of the dilemma in which their ideas of the "soul" involve them. It is indeed probable that even they would

abandon the theory of the soul altogether were they able to get along at all without it. They are afflicted with the notion that man has something higher in him than anything known in nature, something different altogether from even the highest attribute of the most developed animal. And so long as that something is accepted as really and truly the peculiar mark of humanity, the theologian feels quite justified in saying that it indicates the possession of a spiritual nature which may fitly be called the soul.

It may be granted that he is so justified according to his lights. But the crux of the matter is that the facts from which he reasons are wrong. Man does not possess anything "different altogether" from the brute creation. It is now a commonplace of science that the human race has descended from a species of animal ancestors; and it will soon be a commonplace also that, in his descent, man has merely developed the qualities of his animal forbears, not added anything to them from the outside. Man is different from the brutes only in so far as he has gone one step further in development than they have. That step was a vastly important one, involving a train of far-reaching consequences. But it was nevertheless a purely natural one. Every characteristic of the human organism can be traced back to a similar characteristic in some member of the brute creation. Every emotion, every intellectual faculty of man, has its counterpart in a less developed form in the lower animals.

It is one of the most fascinating studies in biology to trace the process of change from animal to man step by step, to join link to link in the long chain of natural development. And it is one of the most interesting studies in the history of thought to trace the progress of this bio-

logical idea, to watch how it has won its way from the position of a rank heresy to that of an accepted principle. When "The Origin of Species" was published, science had a hard fight to establish the possibility of one species developing out of another by purely natural ways and means. When at last the force of fact had obliged the theologian to admit the essential truth of Darwin's theory, he yielded the point ungraciously and retreated behind the objection that after all there was a gulf between the human species and the animal world that only a Creator could bridge. When our knowledge of men and animals increased, it became plain that Nature had bridged the gulf without any creative aid. In the dim far-off ages that preceded the birth of man, Nature was fashioning an animal which from generation to generation grew nearer the creature who was destined to awake to the proud consciousness of the mastery of the world.

To this idea of the natural evolution of the whole man, mental and moral as well as physical, the theologian has been loath to give his assent. He has pointed to the mind and conscience of man as sure proof of his divinity. But modern science has proved almost to the point of certainty that the mental powers and moral faculties of man are not different in kind from those of animals. They are different only in degree, and development on purely natural lines is quite sufficient to accomplish the difference. It is not permissible to exclude even the human conscience, the voice of which has been so often accepted as the message of God to the soul. In the animal we find the rudiments of that conscience; the highest animals, and particularly those that man has domesticated, often show a very highly developed moral sense. It is quite a simple matter to follow the growth of conscience from the animal stage to

that of man—just as easy as in the case of his physical features.

II.—This theological discussion has a very direct bearing on the subject in hand. For if the theologian be right, such a thing as a complete science of sex is an impossibility. So long as love is in any way regarded as a faculty of man's "soul," of his mysterious spiritual nature, so long will it elude the grasp of science. The attributes of the soul cannot be included in the scientific list of natural phenomena, since the soul itself is a supernatural gift. All that theology will allow us is a science of the merely *physical* aspect of sex. So long, says the theologian, as you confine yourself to the animal side of man, so long may you use the methods of science. But as soon as you take him as a whole, as the inheritor of the divine nature, scientific investigation becomes not only a sacrilege but an absurdity. Therefore it is only by accepting man as an entirely natural organism that we can really construct a science of human sex. Evolution gives us the right to accept him as such, to treat even his loftiest thoughts and feelings as natural phenomena, to bring them within the web of cause and effect.

Thus the supernatural soul vanishes, and we are left with a being that loves as naturally as it eats and drinks. And this applies to love in its highest forms as well as in its lowest passional aspects. Love is a particular form of emotion, whether it be the love of a Sir Galahad or the lust of a Tarquin. In either case it comes within the range of science, which includes all things. The scientific man is therefore entitled to investigate all the phenomena of sex, and deal with them as he does with all other facts of nature. He is entitled to study the human being as a

sexual organism in its physical, emotional, and intellectual aspects, and to discover the laws of its sexual life. He is entitled, in short, to reason about love.

These preliminary considerations will give at least a working support to our first proposition—that a science of sex is a possible thing. The second proposition—that it is a desirable thing—is almost equally important and certainly requires equally careful proof. From the purely scientific point of view, of course, the proposition has no meaning. The man of science does not stop to consider whether the acquirement and classification of any kind of knowledge is a good thing or a bad thing. It is his business, as a man of science, to so acquire and classify all the knowledge he can gain; the good or evil of it he leaves to the moralist. But in such a subject as that of sex, the moral aspect comes first and foremost into the minds of almost everyone. So largely indeed does the idea of sex bulk in our moral life that the expression “an immoral man” nearly always means a *sexually* immoral man, not merely one who lies or steals or cheats. In the same way “immorality” is used in the reports of religious bodies on the condition of the people in the sense of sexual immorality. Therefore it is impossible to construct a science of sex (especially one with a practical aim) without trespassing on the moral sphere and inviting criticism on moral grounds.

The duty of defending the enterprise as regards morality becomes still more imperative when it is remembered that on such subjects moral feeling runs highest. In the present state of society, breaches of the accepted laws of sexual morality are visited with a social ostracism which is often more crushing than any mere legal condemnation could be. When it is proposed to open up these laws to

investigation by scientific methods, to examine their claims in an impartial spirit, to reject them if need be, there is every reason to expect that society will protest in the name of the sacred and enduring principles of morality. In the minds of the people, certain forms of sexual life have been permanently branded bad, and certain others have been crowned eternally good. The sexual question is in this way regarded as settled, and any attempt to re-open it is naturally treated as a deliberate effort to cast a slur upon morality.

Such is the attitude of the mass of civilised people in this country to-day, and it has been maintained with a steadfastness and strength that have all but won them their point. The dearth of literature treating the subject of sex from an open scientific standpoint is eloquent of the success of the moral blockade enforced by our legislators with the co-operation of the people. It is hopeless to expect this blockade to be willingly abandoned; prejudices such as these do not die in a day, or in a generation. The blockade must be boldly run again and again, until it ceases to have any obstructing influence. But meanwhile we may indicate two reasons why this blockade is a foolish attempt to delay the progress of knowledge and truth in one of the most vital of human affairs.

In the first place, the fear that free investigation can lower the value of what is good in moral law and custom is a strange and cowardly thing. For if a certain moral law be good; if, that is to say, its observance tends to promote human well-being, then in no conceivable way can the study of its origin and effects tend to shake its authority. To the scientific student of morals, good means the same thing as right, and bad the same thing as wrong. If a certain custom is proved to be beneficial to society,

science or anything else has nothing whatever to say. All that further knowledge can do is to show the why and wherefore of its good effect, and in this way strengthen the custom instead of weakening it.

It is often said that a keen study of moral problems "unsettles" a man's views and thus tends to disturb his moral balance. This can apply only to the brief space when moral laws are under judgment—a time when nine men out of ten would be content to do as their intelligent fellows do until a different way had proved itself better. Once the moral laws have been passed under review, that which is really good will be seen to be good and that which is really bad will be seen to be bad. In short, if a man has a sound faith in the value of the moral laws he cherishes, he will be sure that free criticism of them can only emphasise their value.

The main reason why the laws of sexual morality should be so carefully protected from critical attacks is that the majority of people do not enjoy a strong faith in the inherent value of their sexual laws. They know that these laws are arbitrary, enforced on society mainly by hereditary legal and religious influences. They feel, moreover, that people have a natural tendency to break them, and that if their authority were once seriously overthrown, society would have no more of them. So they try to retain them at all costs and to protect them from independent and perhaps unfavourable criticism. They will strenuously assert that these laws should be retained because of their good results on social life. But were these good results clear and undoubted, the laws need never be imposed on rational beings, nor need they be wrapped in armour against the onslaughts of the scientific critic. The orthodox moralist of to-day is indeed a being of little faith.

With the law and the church to aid him, he still is shy of the challenge of science, and takes refuge behind the stolid earthworks of convention. In his position, indeed, there is not a little cowardice and not a little hypocrisy.

III.—This obstructive policy of the moralist probably gains a good deal of its strength from the popular idea, already referred to, that the problem of sex is, theoretically at least, settled. People are quite ready to suppose that they can tell with ease and certainty whether a given situation of the sexes is a moral or an immoral one. They have two laws that include all cases:—chastity before marriage, and fidelity during it. If a situation involves or tends to the breaking of either of these laws, it is immoral; if it satisfies or encourages either of them, it is moral. From these laws there is no appeal; they are the hall mark of a civilised society. With such ideas deeply rooted in their hearts and minds, it is natural that people should regard the problem of sex as a “chose jugée,” about which it were superfluous and foolish to argue. But the folly really lies, if anywhere, on their own side. For it is not to be supposed that a moral problem so complex as that of the relations of the sexes can be solved off hand by a couple of hard and fast laws. Sex touches upon every side of human life and affects every form of human activity. It is rooted deep in man’s physical organisation, and it spreads its branches into the highest regions of his emotions and thoughts. It can no more be confined within the grasp of two general laws than the ethics of modern society can be comprehended by the Ten Commandments.

This is fairly proved if we take the practical aspect of the question and trace the working of these two primary sexual laws. Their unsatisfactory nature is plainly shown

by the frequency and the persistence with which they are broken, even by men and women of superior character. Most of the other laws of morality—such as those of honesty and respect for life and property—are only seriously broken as a rule by the admittedly criminal classes. On the other hand, our sexual moral code is defied by innumerable people with no criminal taint whatsoever. For every time that the command “Thou shalt not steal” is disobeyed, ten or a hundred offences against the moral laws of sex are committed.

The present state of society is more than black enough to cast a heavy shadow of doubt on the practical value of our accepted ideals in sex matters. With prostitution rife in every social grade, with marital infidelity continually forced upon the public mind through the open scandal of the Divorce Court, with a serious proportion of unmarried people of both sexes involved in unrecognised unions or habituated to solitary indulgence of the sexual passion—with society in such a state of moral chaos, he would indeed be a purblind optimist who would say that nevertheless the laws of sex are settled. Society has plainly shown that the sexual regimen imposed upon it by law and sanctified custom does not meet its wants to anything but a very minor degree. Its breaches of the morality of sex may well be regarded as protests against that morality—at least in the case of people who are healthy in mind and heart. And in this matter we have to consider not merely the open protests that are occasionally made, but the vastly greater number of secret offences against recognised custom in sex affairs. It is safe to say that only a very small proportion of instances come to light. So great is the proportion hidden, that the task of discovering them all would be as herculean as it would be unpleasant.

If these arguments be accepted—that the state of society as regards sex matters is so bad that fresh efforts and study are absolutely demanded from practical moralists—they supply us with the second reason why the organised obstruction to the free study of sexual problems is a moral folly. People have apparently got into the habit of regarding prostitution as a necessary evil, conjugal unhappiness as a burden to be cast aside in heaven only, and the various other sexual ills as the inevitable results of the weaknesses of our flesh. The world might well give up all hope of salvation were this so. The hope of progress lies to a great extent in proving that it is not so. This can only be done by taking the whole problem in hand, and discussing it with the freedom and independence of mind that a social problem of the first magnitude deserves.

At this point it may be well to touch upon a fallacy which is very popular with the orthodox moralist. It is connected with that favourite expression, “the eternity of the moral law.” From the orthodox point of view, certain universal moral laws were formulated sometime about the creation, and it is the peculiar feature of these laws—so fundamental and so far-reaching are they—that they are to be accepted as fixed principles in all cases and at all times. Morality, in other words, is a thing unchangeable; while nations rise and fall, it persists as of old. The moral order is, from this point of view, a sacred thing.

It is easy to see how such an idea affects the attitude of many people towards the sex problem. Sexual morality has a very definite place in the “moral order,” and thus the mind of man has come to regard certain kinds of sex-relationship as good for all time and in all circumstances. He judges their worth by their agreement with the

“eternal moral order” he keeps in his mind’s eye. So he comes to look upon any attempt to re-open the problems of sex as an insult to the everlasting moral principles which are the expression of God’s will. If society, he may say, does not reach the ideal set up by these principles, so much the worse for society; the principles are eternally right, eternally sure.

It is not possible to show the whole weakness of this attitude without a full discussion of the nature of morality and the moral order. That is, of course, impracticable here. It must suffice to observe that in the opinion of the vast majority of modern scientific men, morality is not a thing of fixed principles, but a thing that has, like man himself, evolved step by step from humble beginnings.

It has changed according to the circumstances of various human societies and nations. At the present day every nation has its special customs, its special codes of morals. What is moral for a Hindu is hopelessly immoral for a Briton; what a Turk may do with an easy conscience a pious Spaniard would pay for with a world of penance. Taking even the professedly Christian nations—worshipping the same God, the same creator of the one eternal moral order—we find such diverse views on the moral aspect of divorce, prostitution, illicit unions, and so on, that the unchangeable moral law is lost in a sea of conflicting moral opinions. So we are driven to conclude that this vaunted “moral order” either does not exist or is a very inefficient guide. In either case we are justified in abandoning it and in insisting that our sexual codes should prove their worth solely by their results on social and individual welfare.

IV.—Thus we reach the conclusion that, if the problem of sex is to be tackled at all, it must be tackled in the

same manner as all other social problems—by the scientific method, by the careful collection and study of the available facts of the case, in their relation to social well-being. That may be readily admitted, but it will be difficult to gain assent to the condition indicated:—“*If* the problem of sex is to be tackled at all.” This is the crux of the whole matter. We have already touched upon one or two of the common objections to the opening up of the sex question: its unsettling effect, and so on. But we have yet to consider the strongest and most widespread objection. It is that a free and earnest study of sex has the direct effect of stimulating the sexual emotions and so increasing the tendency to rebellious manifestations of sexual desire; that, in short, immorality is a natural outcome of pre-occupation with sex problems.

This is an extremely popular view, and if it be justified, it condemns every attempt to bring the subject of sex out of the darkness of ignorance. Only where the whole problem is hidden away, only when silence is observed on every aspect of the matter, can the situation be considered safe. This is the practical creed of the majority of people to-day, for they allow their children to grow up in this ignorance and even encourage them to preserve it. This is the prejudice which every earnest student of sex has to meet in his endeavour to encourage discussion on the problem of problems. It must be removed as far as possible before even the first step is taken towards a science of sex.

There are three reasons why this popular objection to the study of sex is unjustifiable. The first is: that close investigation of the mechanism and meaning of such an emotion as that of sex does *not* tend, in the normal man, to excite it beyond its normal intensity, but rather the reverse. The second is: that as it is practically im-

possible for an adult individual to remain ignorant on the matter, it is better that knowledge should come through the clear channels of fact than through the gutters of indecency, misconception, and exaggeration. The third is: that it is the faith of every man with any intellectual courage worth the name, that knowledge is in any case vastly better, morally, than ignorance.

Before touching upon those three reasons, it may be well to refer to an inconsistency between popular practice and popular theory. Popular theory holds that excitements of the sexual emotion should be reduced as far as possible, but popular practice tolerates and encourages the broadcast circulation of literature which, in the innocent guise of romantic fiction, is at least an indirect stimulant of the sexual emotions. In such literature the mutual attraction of the sexes is the central and abiding feature, and most of the physical manifestations of the sexual emotion are freely referred to and deliberately dwelt upon. The exciting influence of such literature is all the keener because it pictures two *persons* in a state of strong sexual sympathy. In many cases the reader places himself or herself in the place of hero or heroine, and so renders the effect more intense. Even if it leads to nothing more than day-dreaming, the perusal of the love stories so popular to-day cannot be said to be sexually innocent. For day-dreaming is as a matter of fact a very real result of the working of sex-feeling; a man in love is a far greater day-dreamer as a rule than he who is heart-whole.

It is no doubt the vivid personal element in such literature that gives it its force as a stimulant of sexual emotion. Similarly, it is the *impersonal* nature of the scientific study of the sex emotion that makes it ineffective as a sexual stimulant. There is a world of difference between

studying two people under the influence of sex passion and studying that passion as a phenomenon. In the one case, acute personal sympathy is aroused ; one is inside the affair, so to speak. In the other case, one is outside it, and feels merely the kind of interest a doctor feels in the condition of his patient.

The scientific spirit is, indeed, in a great measure superior to sympathy, at least of the immediate personal kind. Its concern is for truth, and in the effort to sift the false from the true, the imaginary from the real, it rises superior to personal feelings. So that even in the study of the most purely sexual facts of sex, it is quite possible to forget that one is a sexual being. In short, the head is kept so busy that the heart is forgotten. In popular fiction the reverse is the case. There everything is done to influence the heart, while the head may slumber in undisturbed peace. The conclusion is, therefore, that the scientific investigation of sex questions is a far less effective stimulant to the sexual emotions than is afforded by the erotic literature that is constantly read by nine out of every ten people.

There is, further, a curious psychological fact that lends support to this conclusion. It is that the close study of an emotion such as that of sex tends to diminish, not to increase, its strength. When one seriously begins to look into the workings of the sexual emotion, one naturally goes to the nearest source of information—oneself. The student begins to analyse his own feelings, to dissect his own heart, as it were. Every emotion that he feels is mentally recorded, along with its causes and effects. The mind watches the movements of the feelings and passions with the same feeling of aloofness as the biologist watches the movements of bacilli under the microscope.

The result of this constant superintendence of the emotions is that they lose their spontaneity. Delicate and subtle feelings shrink from such a cross-examination before the bar of intellect; even the stronger and bolder feelings lose much of their warmth before the chill test of reason. Thus the man who closely studies the workings of sex in himself pays the price of his knowledge in the lowering of the natural vigour of his sexual emotions. It is easy to verify the truth of this by experiment on oneself, if one has plenty of time and scientific enthusiasm. It is easier still to verify it in the case of other people. The man who loves most intently and whole-heartedly is usually the man who thinks least about the meaning and mechanism of the passion that absorbs him. His critical faculty is for the time being swamped by his feelings; if he begins to reason about his feelings, it usually means that they are weakening. It may be frequently noted, too, that a trace of cynicism goes with a too critical knowledge of the tender passion. Such cynicism is not as a rule found in women, who feel love infinitely more than they think about it. In fact, if we want to free ourselves from the thralldom of an imperative sex passion, one of the best aids is to bring that very passion beneath the cold steel of the logic of science.

Our second reason why the popular objection to the scientific study of sex is unjustifiable needs only a short discussion. Curiosity is a very primitive and powerful human characteristic; indeed, curiosity in sexual matters seems to have been the crucial failing of our first parents. There are only two channels by means of which this curiosity can be satisfied:—the channel of truth and the channel of falsehood. Scientific study opens the first channel. Popular prejudice closes that channel

and leaves the other comparatively free. The result is that the mind is filled with distorted and absurd notions and warped by the indecencies and vulgarity which are so closely associated with ignorance.

It is doubtful, indeed, whether purity of heart can co-exist with complete ignorance, but it is certain that it cannot co-exist with the half-knowledge of the ordinary man or woman who trusts to chance sources or to vagrant experience for information on this most complex and vital of subjects. Sane ideas on sex can only come through adequate knowledge, and adequate knowledge can only come through adequate study on a basis of fact. If sane ideas of sex are not vividly present in the mind, there are plenty of agencies in our present-day society that will see to it that their place is taken by notions which are as noxious as they are false.

V.—There remains the third consideration:—that in any matter whatsoever, knowledge, clear, deep, and entire, is vastly better for the moral health than ignorance, complete or partial. This is a proposition on a somewhat higher level, of a somewhat more general nature, than the two we have just been discussing. But it more or less follows from them, for both are examples of the advantages of knowledge over ignorance. What we have to do now is to reach the conviction that although the scientific study of sex should alter, even revolutionise, our practical sex customs, it is our duty as rational beings to pursue that study in the face of such vital consequences.

Huxley's phrase, "consequences are the beacons of wise men and the scarecrows of fools," is a curt way of expressing this faith of scientific men in the supreme value of truth. The best way to reach this faith is to study the

working of the leaven of truth in the history of mankind. There we see that each upward step in civilisation has been a step nearer a truer idea of life, that each new truth gained has been the open sesame to new treasures of human happiness. We are wiser than our savage ancestors, and our existence is correspondingly more intense, more manifold, more full of possibilities. Knowledge, in short, has been the mainspring of progress. We are therefore almost bound to believe that the hope of future progress lies in the hope of further knowledge. So when knowledge comes to us, our faith in the good influence of knowledge in the past should lead us to rely upon the same guide here and now.

The one thing that is lacking to make this faith a working faith, is courage—courage to apply our theoretical convictions to the vast and intricate problems of society. It should never be forgotten that there is a mental and moral form of enterprise which is in its way as valuable as the physical form. We have need of the bold spirits who cast off their old moorings and adventure into the unknown seas of thought. They are pioneers in the discovery of new lands of knowledge and they bring back therefrom many new fruits of wisdom. Truly our knowledge is of little use if we have not the courage of the convictions it gives us; it is like a sun without a world to shine on.

And that courage, if it is to have the whole-hearted admiration of men, must not waver before even the most fortified customs of society. It must defy the sanctity of law in obedience to the most sacred law of truth; it must call upon every hoary tradition to plead at the bar of reason for its life. No prejudice must be allowed to hold it back from its appointed goal, which is the attainment of

practical wisdom, the embodiment of truth in real life. In the affairs of sex we have need of as much of such courage as we can possibly get. There is a world of obstacles in the way of progress, but we may console ourselves with the thought that where truth leads, mankind must sometime follow.

These preliminary remarks may serve to make out at least a working case for the possibility and desirability of a science of sex. The object of the chapters that follow is to outline the science, to lay down its main principles, and to deduce its broad practical lessons.

Anyone who has given even a superficial glance at the subject of sex from the scientific point of view will be aware that it is impossible to do more within the limited space of a single volume. A complete, detailed science of sex would be encyclopædic in range, for it would include a minute study of man from every point of view—physiological, psychological, ethnographical, moral, social, and religious. The time is not ripe yet for such a work. The scientific study of man is still in its infancy; and the sexual side of his nature has been studied perhaps least of all. It has been plentifully written about by moralists and romancists, and in its medical aspects has been a recognised study. But as a human problem it has not received the intelligent and all-round investigation it deserves. The existing knowledge on the subject is scattered about in the literature of medicine, psychology, biography, and morals, and the student has to seek out many disconnected sources for his information. What is wanted is to bring all these different facts and theories together, to sift the false from the true, and to fuse the true into a coherent system.

The following chapters are an endeavour to do this as regards the main points in our knowledge of sex. Since the sex problem presents itself to most of us as a practical moral question, the purpose of the book is to indicate the general laws upon which that question may be practically solved. Where so many physical, moral, and economic factors are involved, it would be absurd to dogmatise, to say that the sex problem can be solved only in a certain way. That is the folly of theological and popular morality, and it should not be imitated by science. All that can be safely done is to lay down a basis of fact broad enough to enable one to look at the problem with some confidence of mind and heart.

It is further possible to lay down the first principles on which a moral solution may be reached, and to indicate how far these principles may or may not be followed in the present half-civilised state of society. The sex problem is not an academic one, like some puzzle in metaphysics which the man in the street is not in the least concerned about. Everyone of us *must* solve it in some fashion or another, and a vast deal of our moral worth depends upon how we solve it. The majority of people are in this case content to follow their neighbours—a safe proceeding only when their neighbours are immaculate patterns of morality. On the other hand there is a growing desire to attack the problem in the light of reason, to know why a certain mode of sexual life is moral and another immoral. Mere dogmatic assertion on the matter is not enough.

The true character of any human faculty can only be understood when its origin and history are known. As regards the present subject, this means that we must study sex from the evolutionary point of view. Man having evolved wholly from animal progenitors, we must go to

these for the beginnings of sex. Therefore the science of sex naturally opens with a description of the evolution of sex. By tracing it from its earliest forms upwards, we reach man himself, in whom sex has found its most complete and complex realisation. Thence we pass to a comprehensive study of man as a sexual organism, noting the part that sex plays in his physical and mental being. So far the moral element in the problem is omitted; it is only when we come to study the relations of man to man and man to woman that the moral question comes into view. It is so important that it has to be treated in detail—each form of sex life coming in turn under review. When the review is completed, the general lessons which it teaches as to the future of the sex life will be considered.

In a work of this kind, it is obvious that many sources of information must remain unacknowledged, but wherever a fact or theory is closely identified with a particular investigator, the fact is noted in the body of the text. The bibliography at the close of the volume includes those works which have been principally laid under contribution. A special acknowledgment is due to the various works of Dr. Havelock Ellis, a writer who is worthily pre-eminent for originality and clearness of thought. He has done more than almost anyone to encourage sane ideas on this most intricate and difficult of problems.

CHAPTER II.

THE EVOLUTION OF SEX.

- I.—The nature of sex—Male and female elements in reproduction—Sexual and reproductive phenomena correlated—The method of study.
- II.—Simplest forms of reproduction—Protoplasmic activity—Its outcome in growth—Growth results in reproduction by fission—Reproduction by conjugation.
- III.—Male and female cells—The dawn of sexual reproduction—Primitive sexual attraction—Sexual phenomena in micro-organisms—From cell to organism—Specialised sexual cells—The earliest reproductive organs.
- IV.—Hermaphroditism—Alternation of sexual character—The evolution of definitely sexual organisms—The sexual bias—Anabolism and katabolism.
- V.—The mechanism of reproduction—Evolution of reproductive act—Copulation—Sexual attraction in the higher animals—The “mystery” of sexual reproduction.

I.—The object of the present chapter is, as already stated, to trace the origin and development of sex. At first sight it would seem necessary to begin by defining what sex is, so as to have a clear notion of the goal at which we are aiming. But the difficulty of this process lies in the fact that we cannot really understand the nature and meaning of sex until we have traced its history; we cannot, indeed, define it fully until its evolution is known to us. We are thus driven to make the natural beginning of our study the actual end, to postpone any attempt to

describe the inner nature of sex until we have reviewed its main features as they are revealed by natural history. When this review is completed, we shall find the mystery of sex made clear, even in its most intricate form as we find it in human beings.

Our aim will therefore be in the first place to follow the history of sex from the outside, as it were; this process of study giving us later what we are really seeking—a glimpse into the heart of the phenomena of sex.

The word sex suggests to most people the division of a species of animals into two classes, called male and female respectively. The peculiar character of this division is that, for a new member of the species to be created, it is necessary for two members, one from each group, to come into intimate physical union. This is the way in which sex presents itself to the average mind, which seldom makes any attempt to discover the origin or meaning of this division. It appears as something so entirely fundamental that it does not call for any particular explanation; and it is sometimes thought that no explanation can be given. We may therefore accept it as the end to which our study of the evolution of sex must tend, the phenomenon we must explain before we can be said to have cleared the ground for the study of sex. Wherever we start in our course of investigation, we must conclude with an explanation of this main sexual phenomenon—the creation of a new individual by the physical union of two individuals of opposite sexes.

This phenomenon, it must be noticed, is simply a physical one of *reproduction*, the two members co-operating to reproduce a member of their own species. The evolution of sex therefore resolves itself, for our present purpose, into the evolution of reproduction. It is obvious that every species

of living thing, if it is to continue, must have some means of reproducing itself; the individual organisms inevitably die, but before doing so they give birth to new organisms like themselves, thus keeping the stream of life constantly flowing. This is the law from the lowliest forms of life to the very highest, and by studying the various ways which organisms adopt to satisfy this law—in other words, their methods of reproduction—we arrive at a comprehensive view of the evolution of reproduction through its various phases.

Starting from the lowliest and simplest forms, we shall rise step by step until we reach those forms which are characteristic of the highest organisms. We shall see later that this is the best method of leading up to those loftier aspects of sex life upon which moral problems mainly hang.

II.—The earliest and simplest methods of reproduction are of course those exhibited by the simplest and most primitive organisms. The most elementary form of life we know is that of a more or less formless mass of protoplasm, the fundamental life-matter. The composition of this matter is not too clearly known; protoplasm itself is really only a discovery of yesterday. But there is no doubt about its properties. It possesses the characteristic power of living matter—that of adding to its substance by taking up material from its surroundings and assimilating it into its own mass. A crystal grows by simply building up atoms one on the top of another like brick upon brick. Protoplasm, on the other hand, grows by a far more intricate process, transforming the matter it feeds upon and absorbing it into its very substance. Its existence depends upon keeping up this feeding process; hence we may say that protoplasm is constantly hungry.

But it is not in the nature of things that the feeding process should go on indefinitely. We know that, in higher organisms, feeding always involves a counter process, by which the waste material of the organism is excreted. Living matter, in fact, is in a state of continual change. It is constantly building dead material into its substances, and that substance is as constantly breaking down into dead material again. We may therefore compare living matter to a going business concern, with income in the form of food and expenditure in the form of waste material. When income is greater than expenditure, the living organism gains capital and grows; when expenditure exceeds income, the organism loses capital and decays. This is life in its simplest terms. Our mass of protoplasm is merely the theatre of these two opposing process; its substance is being continually renewed and it is as continually wasting away. This perpetual struggle is the key-note, as we shall presently see, of the allied phenomena of reproduction and sex.

Returning to our starting point—the tiny protoplasmic body—we have now to watch the effect of the double action of growth and decay. It is most natural, where food material is abundant and other things are favourable, that income will for a time exceed expenditure. The mass of protoplasm will grow, and by a mechanical law which need not be touched upon here, this increase of bulk tends to make the mass become spherical. We find countless tiny organisms which are apparently nothing but spheres of protoplasm.

These spheres, living on water, take in food all over their surface, and they go on growing until a certain critical stage is reached. This is when the sphere has grown so large that it is just able to take in enough food and no

more to keep itself alive. Its mass, unfortunately for it, increases faster than its surface, so that when it has doubled its surface, it has more than doubled the mass that requires feeding. It is like a business enterprise that has grown too huge for the income it can command. Something must be done to save the situation, for the sphere cannot go on growing as before. What is done is the simplest and most natural thing in the world. The sphere divides itself into two, thus halving its mass but more than doubling the surface through which food may be absorbed. Thus we get two new spheres, each capable of starting life for itself. Each of these proceeds to grow and continues growing until it in turn reaches the critical stage. Then it simply repeats the splitting process which gave it birth, and the new spheres thus produced go through the same circle of changes in their turn.

It is necessary to describe this process in detail, for it is the first step in the evolution of reproduction; and in nature, as in morals, it is often the first step which is most vitally important. The next step is an almost equally important one for our purpose, for it gives us the first glimmer of the dawn of sex. In many lowly organisms, which are, to all intents and purposes simple spheres of protoplasm, it is noted that the splitting—which is called “reproduction by fission”—does not go on indefinitely. After a sphere has split again and again, it apparently becomes exhausted with the process and is unable to repeat it. Then it does a curious and interesting thing. Meeting another sphere which has arrived at a similar condition, it unites with it, the two mingling their substances in the most intimate manner.

The new sphere thus formed starts off on its life-course with full vigour, and it is shortly seen to begin the process

of splitting up which each of its parents followed. Here we may use our business simile again, for the two cells are very much like two played-out concerns which evade ruin by adding their exhausted capitals together and starting afresh as a single new concern. If the cells are prevented from uniting, they die; if the two business concerns do not go into partnership, they meet their analogous end in the bankruptcy court.

This form of reproduction—which is called “reproduction by conjugation”—might almost be called sexual were it not for the fact that the two uniting cells are so like each other. The peculiar feature of sexual reproduction we have seen to be the creation of a new individual by the intimate physical union of two individuals which are different in character, one belonging to the male class and the other belonging to the female class. Therefore, without discussing just now what the words “male” and “female” really amount to, we see clearly that we shall have to follow the evolution of reproduction a step or two further before we can say that we have arrived at the sexual stage. Nevertheless, it may be as clearly seen that we have already gone a good part of the road towards that goal.

III.—We get an inkling of the next stage in the evolution of reproduction from the fact that, in the conjugating process just described, the cells are not always exactly alike. Where the matter of the cells is simply protoplasm—the fundamental life-matter—the cells are not likely to differ much in anything but size. Any species which displays these differences may be divided into three classes:—those which are below, those which are above, and those which are on the level of the average cell in size. But as an actual fact we find that the cells tend naturally to fall into

one or other of the first two classes; that, in other words, a species originally composed of cells of average size, tends to develop into a species composed of two groups, one smaller and the other larger than the original cell.

This division into two classes is originally due to differences in feeding; and when we take into account the influence of heredity in perpetuating variations, it becomes easy to understand how this dual division was continued from generation to generation. A cell which enjoyed a rich easy life will tend to hand the habits of that life to its offspring, which will be born into the world with a bias on the side of its parent's mode of living. Similarly for the cell of the other class. In this way, a race of cells all of more or less average size will tend to evolve into a race where some of the cells are small and some large, each class having the peculiar properties that naturally follow from the particular life it leads.

We have intentionally dwelt upon this matter at some length, for it is one of the most important steps in the evolution of sex. It is nothing else, indeed, than the dawn of sex itself. This will become evident when we pass from these primitive cells up the scale of being to those higher organisms where sexual differences are obvious and familiar. We shall find then that the fundamental difference between the sexes is just the difference between the two classes of cells we have been considering. The small, hungry cells are characteristically male, and the large, rich cells are characteristically female. For the sake of convenience, we shall use the terms "male" and "female" at this early stage, though the justification of their use can only come later.

Even here, nevertheless, one may note that these primitive cells possess one of the most striking features of sexual

organisms. It is commonly said that in love man finds the completion of his being, that woman brings him what he lacks, just as he brings to woman the qualities in which she is deficient. In other words, the two sexes are *complementary*, dovetailing into each other's nature like the two halves of a broken bar of wood. The two groups of simple cells which we have called male and female are complementary in a strictly analogous way. The male is small, hungry and energetic, being characterised by a tendency for expenditure to exceed income. On the other hand, the female is large, overfed, and listless, being characterised by a tendency for income to exceed expenditure. The male cell therefore wants exactly what the female cell has a surplus of; and *vice versâ*. The same may be said of male and female beings, and as the analogy is so close, we may venture to push it a little further.

The attraction between a man and a woman is, as a general rule, stronger according as they are more strictly complementary in nature. It is natural that they should be most strongly drawn to each other when each most entirely supplies the deficiencies of the other. In the case of male and female cells the same rule holds good. The process of conjugation shows how two similar cells have an attraction towards each other which is sufficient to make them unite. When male and female cells are formed, the attraction becomes stronger and more definite. Male cells never unite with male cells, nor female with female; but male and female cells are drawn to each other with a force which becomes stronger according as the two cells are more entirely complementary. There thus exists between these simple cells an attraction which is to all appearances a sexual one. The attraction brings the two cells together; they unite as the two similar cells do in

conjugation; and from their union arises a new cell.

Even in some of the simplest of living things, this process is sometimes accompanied with phenomena which mimic in a most interesting fashion, the wooings of higher animals. Balbiani, quoted by Ribot in "The Psychology of the Emotions," gives a most graphic description of what one is almost obliged to call the love antics of micro-organisms. "It is curious," he says, "to find, in beings who from their small size, and the external simplicity of their organisation, have been placed by all zoologists at the furthest limit of the animal world, actions denoting the existence of phenomena analogous to those by which the sex-instinct manifests itself in a great number of metazoa.

. . . Thus, with the paramæcids, at the moment of propagation . . . a higher instinct seems to govern these little animals; they seek and pursue each other, they go from one to another, feeling each other with their cilia, cling to one another for some instants in the attitude of sexual approach, and then let go in order to seize each other again. These singular games, by which these animalcules seem in turn to provoke one another to the act of copulation, often last for several days before the act becomes definitive."

It will therefore be fairly evident that at this stage of our study of reproduction, we have passed the threshold of sex. But we have several steps more to go before we enter the realm of sex as it is commonly known. In the cases considered, the whole organism is involved in the act of reproduction. Each cell is an organism in itself, and, in uniting with another of the opposite class or sex, it merges itself entirely into the substance of the other, the two mingling intimately together. Each cell, as an individual, dies, in order that a new cell may live. In

higher forms of life—as among familiar plants and animals—the whole organism is not thus involved in reproduction. Only a portion of its substance takes part in the process.

When several cells join together to form an organism, the principle of division of labour enters into the case. Some of the cells are told off for the work of protection, or for grasping food, others for digesting the food obtained, and others again for the vital function of reproduction. A sponge, for instance, is really a collection of little organisms in which this division of labour is very apparent. The outer cells of each tiny organism are merely boundary cells and take little or no part in the active life of the group. The inmost cells are the digestive ones, all of them well-fed and active. Between the outside layer of cells and this collection of digestive cells, lies what may be called the reproductive layer. It includes small, active male cells, and large, over-fed female cells, the difference in size and general appearance of these cells being quite visible under the microscope. When a male cell from this layer meets a female cell (either from the same layer or from a similar layer in another organism) it unites with it to form a new organism. The outer boundary cells and the inmost digestive cells take no actual part in this reproductive process, having other duties to perform.

Here the division of labour is quite marked, and it naturally becomes more definite higher in the scale of life. The more complex the organism, the more specialised is the duty of each cell or group of cells. Thus when we pass from the sponges to more highly-evolved organisms, we find the reproductive cells becoming more and more distinct from the rest of the cells. In the common fresh-water hydra, which belongs to the class of coelenterates or

stinging animals, the reproductive cells always appear at particular points on the body. At one point there is a protuberance of cells, one of which develops into a female reproductive cell. At another point there is another protuberance, smaller in size, and composed of a number of tiny male cells. The remainder of the hydra is made up of body cells, which merely nourish the reproductive cells. Each of the protuberances really merits the name of reproductive *organ*, since an organ is nothing else than a group of cells developed for a special purpose.

IV.—The appearance of definite reproductive organs is plainly one step nearer to the familiar phenomenon of reproduction in the highest of animals. So far, however, we have only arrived at the hermaphrodite stage, that in which each organism possesses a double set of reproductive organs, one male and the other female. In sex, as we generally know it, each individual possesses only a single set of organs, and sex depends really upon which set, male or female, the individual possesses. We must therefore trace the passage from the stage where every animal is both male and female, to the higher stage where each individual is definitely male or female.

The first hint of how this passage was accomplished in nature is given by a curious fact in the life of the same group of animals, the cœlenterates. There is a tendency for the male cells to appear at a different time from the female cells. This is not a matter of mere caprice or chance, for it corresponds to a deep-seated rhythm in the life of the animal. The pendulum of its existence swings now to one side and then to the other, according to the conditions of its existence. When these conditions are favourable, the organism will be well-nourished and will natur-

ally produce large, amply-fed female reproductive cells. In the lean seasons, the opposing state of things will occur, the smaller male reproductive cells being produced.

One step higher in the ladder of evolution gives us, instead of an organism which wavers in this fashion from the male condition to the female, a more stable organism which has the male or female character from birth upwards. We have already seen how simple organisms tend to fall definitely into one class or the other, and we naturally expect complex organisms to follow the same deep-seated law. So as we pass onwards in evolution, we gradually leave hermaphroditism behind us and come upon the stage where each species is divided into two groups, one producing male reproductive cells and the other female reproductive cells.

At this point it is necessary to note that the production of male or female cells is the expression of a particular bias on the part of the whole organism. An animal produces male cells because it has a tendency in the male direction—that is, for its breaking-down processes to exceed its building-up processes. On the other hand, female cells are produced when the entire animal has a female tendency, the building-up processes inclining to exceed the breaking-down processes. These different tendencies are found in protoplasm itself, and consequently in all living things. They are the expression of a fundamental bias, and so important are they that special terms have been coined to express them. The building-up processes are termed *anabolic* and the breaking-down processes *katabolic*. There is a barbaric sound about these names which is not inviting, but they have already won their way into the language of the science of sex, and seem likely to remain. They permit us to sum up the

present matter of the difference between male and female in a very convenient fashion. Male cells and male organisms are simply those in which katabolic processes tend to predominate; female cells and female organisms are those in which anabolic processes are stronger. Sex differences therefore resolve themselves in the end into a difference in protoplasmic life. Anabolism gives us female organisms; katabolism gives us male organisms. That is the sum and substance of the essential mystery of sex.

V.—The only difference between the stage we have now reached and the goal we set out to attain is an almost mechanical one. In the coelenterates which we have been considering, there was no intimate union of male and female individuals as prescribed in our description of the main phenomena of sex. Reproductive cells were merely liberated and left to take their chance of meeting with other reproductive cells, with which they might unite and form new individuals. Here Nature is hap-hazard—a fault of which she is not seldom guilty. It is only just to her to admit, however, that she improves considerably upon this happy-go-lucky process as she produces more developed creatures. Where some attempt is made to bring the male reproductive cells—called *spermatozoa*—into direct contact with the female reproductive cells—called *ova*. Instead of the reproductive organs simply forming the spermatozoa or ova, and then setting them free, these organs become improved and adapted for expelling the cells in such a fashion that they have every chance of immediate union.

This is a merely mechanical problem, of course. What is wanted is a natural mechanism to do with something like precision what was formerly left to chance; and this mechanism is produced by a gradual development of the

reproductive organs. They become more definite, more intricate, more specialised.

The first step in this development is the formation of what are called reproductive ducts. The reproductive cells are no longer formed on the surface of the body; they are produced within the organism, and there is formed a passage from the place of production to the surface. This passage is called the reproductive duct, and it serves to guide the spermatozoa or ova in a certain direction when they are expelled. Even at this stage, nevertheless, the cells are sometimes cast adrift in the old capricious fashion. But in other cases the ends of the ducts are modified so as to make the matter far less one of chance. The end of the male duct develops into an intromittent organ, and the end of the female duct alters so as to admit the entrance of the male organ. Thus a continuous passage is formed, and, in the act of reproduction, the spermatozoa are expelled down the male duct and so enter the female duct, where they are met by the ova. Union thus takes place in the body of the female, and in many cases the new organism goes through the early stages of its career in the same sheltered situation, being thereafter expelled from the mother organism in the act of birth.

Here we recognise that intimate physical union of the two organisms which we accepted as the characteristic outward manifestation of sex. To this act of union the name *copulation* is given, and in all of the higher animals it is the essential preliminary of reproduction. Without it the species could not continue; any group of animals which evaded it could not reach a second generation. Therefore we naturally find that all the higher animals are impelled to this act with an almost irresistible force. They live for it and sometimes die for it. And the impulsion is not one

which concerns the reproductive cells alone. When we reach the stage of evolution at which copulation appears, we are dealing with animals which feel pleasure and pain, which are capable of emotions of affection and dislike. It matters nothing that these feelings are crude and often unbeautiful; the all-important point is that they aid in bringing the sexes together, surrounding the sexual life with the crowd of emotions which break forth in the wooings of animals. The love-songs of birds, the amorous croakings of frogs, the antics of brightly-plumaged male birds in view of their expected mates—these and a thousand similar phenomena are all the expression of intense emotion which has only one aim in nature—to bring the sexes together in the act of copulation. And as we are animals by undoubted parentage, all human wooings have the same ultimate end, without which the sex-life of even spiritual man is incomplete. This act of intimate physical union is, indeed, the sexual phenomenon *par excellence*.

It is almost unnecessary now to claim that our sketch of the evolution of sex has brought us to our desired goal. We have already completed the chain from the reproduction of the simple organism by fission to that of the highest organism by the complicated process of copulation. The sketch is in many ways incomplete, for there are hundreds of aspects of the history of sex which we have altogether omitted. But our purpose was merely to effect an introduction to the study of sex in man, and for that purpose no more than the barest outline of the evolution of sex was required. It was enough to start with the primitive mass of protoplasm, to trace its development through its main stages, each with its peculiar mode of reproduction, and so reach an understanding of the meaning of sex in the highest of organisms.

Each stage, it may be observed, has been taken by purely natural means. Nature alone having accomplished the evolution from protoplasm to man, there is no more mystery in the reproduction of man than in the simple fission of a cell of protoplasm. We may therefore enter into the detailed description of sex in man without any fear that there is a mystery in its meaning and methods which will baffle our every attempt at explanation. Any suspicion of mystery which remains will vanish when it is shown how science has already compassed the whole realm of human love. Love, in short, has many marvels, some of them yet unexplained; but to the scientific eye it has no insoluble mysteries.

Hitherto we have been concerned almost entirely with the organic side of sex—that of reproduction. In passing to the consideration of sex in man, it is therefore most natural that we should first discuss the organic aspects of his sex life. These will form the subject of the following chapter. Thereafter we shall pass to those higher aspects where the moral problem demands attention.

CHAPTER III.

THE PHYSIOLOGY OF SEX.

- I.—The mechanism of reproduction in man—Production of sex cells and their union—The male sexual organs—Divided into three classes: those for production, storing, and expulsion—Nature of spermatozoa—Sexual organs in the female.
- II.—The reproductive act—Its nature and mechanism—Nature's prodigality in production of spermatozoa—The survival of the Fittest.
- III.—The development of the embryo—The functions of the womb—The placenta—Maternal sacrifice—The crisis of birth.
- IV.—Puberty—External evidences in both sexes—Menstruation—Its nature and effects—Theories regarding it—Menstruation and "rut"—Menstruation as disappointed impregnation—Sexual intercourse during menstrual period prohibited—Religious superstition.
- V.—The monthly sexual rhythm in woman—Has it a parallel in man?—Sex in relation to the whole organism.

I.—Although the subject-matter of this chapter belongs almost entirely to physiology, it is so often ignored or slurred over in popular works on that science that it becomes advisable to treat it here with some fulness. It is not easy to admire the excessive delicacy which leads scientific writers to neglect this important aspect of the organic life of man, for not only does the ignorance thus engendered keep open the avenues of morbid curiosity which everybody desires to close, but it leads to an entire misconception of the part that sex—organically considered

—plays in the physical life of human beings. To give it a distinct place by itself, to cloak it with the reservations of an over-sensitive modesty, to reveal it only by half-hints and occult references, is to convey the idea that it is a subject which concerns, not the whole man, but only a very peculiar and particular part of his nature.

The most efficient antidote to this erroneous idea is a clear understanding of the part that sex really plays in nature and in the human organism. We have already seen how the phenomena of sexual reproduction arose out of the conditions of protoplasmic life. We have traced the evolution of reproduction from the simple division of the simple cell up to the union of male and female cells in the highest animals. The fact that we can trace the evolution of sex in this way implies that the manifestations of sex are merely one aspect of the innermost energy of a living being. Therefore it is unscientific, to say the least of it, to tear the physiology of sex out of its context in the total organic life of man.

The same remark may be made with regard to the psychology of sex, as will be shown in the chapter that follows. Meanwhile, the object of the present discussion is, by describing the actual mechanism of reproduction in man, to bring his physical sex processes into their proper relation with his total organic existence.

To properly explain the reproductive act in man, we have to make two processes clear—(1) the production of male and female sex-cells in the corresponding individuals, and (2) the means by which the union of these cells is brought about in the act of copulation. These two processes are the main functions of the sexual organs, save in the female, where they perform the additional functions

incidental to the foetal growth and the birth of the new individual.

In man, the organs which produce the sex-cells, or *spermatozoa*, as they are called, are the two testicles, suspended in the bag-like scrotum, immediately below the penis. Each testicle is composed of a convoluted mass of very thin and delicate tubes, and it is within these tubes that the spermatozoa are formed. Outside the testicle, these tubes are gathered into a single tube, itself much convoluted, to which the name *epididymis* is given. The epididymis then leads into a thick-walled tube, the *vas deferens*, which passes upwards till it reaches a seminal vesicle, which is situated at the back of the bladder. There are two seminal vesicles, each connected with a testicle. They perform the function of storing the spermatozoa, which, when matured in the testicle, pass through the epididymis, up the vas deferens, and remain in the seminal vesicles until they are expelled in the act of copulation.

The vesicles themselves are narrow pouches, about an inch and a half long, formed of bundles of twisted sacculated tubes. A narrow tube, called the ejaculatory canal, leads from each vesicle to a larger canal whose function it is to form a passage for the urine when it is expelled from the bladder. This canal passes through the penis, which, with the testicles, constitutes the external male organ. The penis consists of a spongy mass of tissue which, when the system is under the influence of sexual excitement, receives a copious flow of blood, increases considerably in size, and attains a rigidity which enables it to play its part as an intromittent organ during copulation.

In this list of organs, three classes may be noticed. There are first the organs of production of sex cells—the testicles; second, the organs which form reservoirs for the

sex cells—the seminal vesicles; and, third, the organs which afford an outward passage for the cells—the ejaculatory duct and urinary canal. In addition to these it may be well to note the function of the *prostate gland*, a chestnut-shaped body which surrounds the urinary canal at the point where it leaves the bladder. It produces a thin viscous fluid, the purpose of which will be indicated later.

The production of the spermatozoa is in detail a rather complicated process, into which it is unnecessary for us to enter. It is sufficient to remark that the testicles, like every other organ of the body, are supplied with blood. It is from the nutriment thus supplied that the sex-cells are elaborated, a fact which leads Dr. Garnier to call them “la quintessence du sang.” Individually the male sex-cells are so minute that they are visible only under a strong microscope. They are not unlike tadpoles in shape, having an oval head and a long thin tail. They are capable of the most rapid movement, propelling themselves by energetic tail movements through the fluid in which they are immersed. In their minute size and their activity, we see that these spermatozoa possess the characteristic properties of male cells all through the scale of nature.

The central sexual organ in the human female is that known as the *uterus* or womb. It is the theatre of all those wonderful changes that take place between the conception and birth of offspring. In itself it may be described as a hollow muscle, something like a flattened pear in shape, about three and a half inches in length. It is situated behind the bladder, with its broad end uppermost. The lower end narrows down to what is called the neck of the womb and opens into the *vagina*, a passage which leads directly downwards to an external fissure

called the *vulva*. This fissure is bounded by two *labia* or lips, the only externally visible parts of the generative organs. Immediately within and above the vulva is situated the *clitoris*, a highly sensitive organ like a diminutive penis, though in this case the urinary canal is situated just behind it, and does not pass through it as in the penis.

The organs for the production of the sex cells in the female are situated one on each side of the womb, to which they are bound by ligaments. Each has the shape of an almond; and these *ovaries* have no other function than the formation of the *ovules*, the generative female cells. Twenty-five or thirty of these ovules are formed in each ovary, and are each about the size of a millet seed, being thus ever so much larger than the spermatozoa or male cells. Close beside each ovary is the end of a *Fallopian tube*, which leads into the upper part of the womb. The end of each tube opens into a kind of wide fringed bell which, when it clasps the ovary in the nervous excitation of copulation, allows a liberated ovule to pass through the tube into the womb.

II.—This rough description of the essential reproductive organs will enable us to understand the general mechanism of the reproductive act. It is indeed a purely mechanical act, consisting in the introduction of spermatozoa into the vagina, so that they may find their way up through the womb and effect a union between one of their number and a liberated ovule. The penis, in its erectile state, is an extremely sensitive organ, and when introduced into the vagina gradually reaches a state of high excitation. The thin fluid liberated by the prostate gland is increased in volume by this same excitation, and this fluid, mingling with the spermatozoa, forms the *semen* or male reproductive fluid, which is of a viscous nature and whitish in

colour. When the excitation of the penis is at its height, the ejaculatory canal enlarges and contracts alternately, thus drawing the spermatozoa from the seminal vesicles and expelling them, in the form of semen, through the penis into the vagina.

This is the crisis of the reproductive act as far as the male is concerned; the crisis on the part of the female consists in the liberation of an ovule. During the excitation of the female organs—in which the sensitive clitoris plays the principal part—the mouth of the Fallopian tube always covers the ovary. The spermatozoa are able, partly by their own wonderful power of movement, partly by aid of hair-like cilia on the neck of the womb, to pass into the womb and upwards through it into the Fallopian tube itself. In some part of this the union of the sex cells takes place, one of the spermatozoa uniting with an ovule in its descent of the Fallopian tube. Thus the first stage in the reproductive act is completed.

It may seem a matter for surprise that so many spermatozoa—hundreds of these microscopic germs being expelled in a single coition—should take part in an act where only a single one, or at most two or three, can take part in the actual reproductive act. Only one spermatozoon can unite with each liberated ovule; all the others must pass away useless. This is a distinct waste of valuable life-material, but it is nevertheless quite in keeping with Nature's prodigal methods of securing the perpetuation of species. If only one spermatozoon were expelled in each copulative act, there would be many chances against its reaching the ovule. When the spermatozoa are in large number, the odds are distinctly in favour of one or more of them accomplishing the passage up through the womb to the Fallopian tube.

There must indeed be a kind of competitive struggle between these minute organisms. The most active and vigorous of them will naturally achieve the desired end first, thus excluding the others less fit. And as vigour and activity imply general fitness for existence, the first in the race will also be the most able for the work of reproduction, the worthiest, that is, to carry on the species. Nature's prodigality, therefore, has some good results, though it would appear to be carried far beyond all useful bounds. The death of thousands of spermatozoa is a heavy price to pay that one may live, even though that life is of prime importance to the purposes of Nature. From this point of view the reproductive organs of man, highly developed as they are, appear to be imperfectly adapted for their purpose. An ordinary machine in which such waste occurred would be condemned at once; but Nature has such vast stores of vital energy to draw upon that she can afford to be even repeatedly extravagant. Such extravagance, however, throws a very unsympathetic light on the once-popular notion of Nature's perfection in adapting means to ends, for prodigal waste is by no means necessary in the performance of such a simple and direct operation as the bringing of reproductive cells into intimate contact. In different forms of life there are many marvellous ways of accomplishing this end, but none of them can be considered economical. Nature, indeed, is the prototype of spendthrifts.

The act of copulation has been spoken of as the crisis of the reproductive life. It is really so in the case of the male sex only; for the female it is the beginning and not the end. On the female there rests what Edward Carpenter calls "the speechless burden of sex"—the duty of guarding and nourishing the new living thing from its conception

onwards through the months of slow growth in the womb, until it is born into self-existence in the outer world. Thus, while the sex-life of a man culminates, physiologically speaking, in the act of sexual union, that of a woman does not reach its summit until long after, in the birth of the being to which that act has given rise.

This fact, together with the manifold duties which it plainly involves, makes the sex-life of woman far more complex and full than that of her partners. It has far-reaching consequences of the most important kind; on these something will be said later. Meanwhile, the actual process upon which so much depends must be sketched in outline.

III.—We left the reproductive process at the stage where a spermatozoon has reached the ovule and united with it in the manner which characterises the essential act of reproduction in all sexual beings. This fertilised ovule is the starting-point of a new organism; it is a human being in embryo. Although comparatively simple in itself, it is able to develop, under suitable conditions, into the complex organism of the human child. These conditions are afforded by the womb in which it begins its life's career.

During its earliest stages of growth—which are accomplished by the well-known process of cell-division first into two, then into four, and so on—the embryo uses up the food material which goes to form the human egg much as in the eggs of birds. But a different mode of nourishment is soon adopted. On the inner surface of the womb, near its topmost part, there forms a mass of blood vessels, called the placenta. From it there passes to the embryo a tube called the umbilical cord. It contains two arteries bringing

fresh blood from the placenta to the embryo, and the vein carrying away the blood which has passed through, and been used by, the growing embryo. The whole life of the embryo, from the time the umbilical connection is formed, till the event of birth, is sustained by the blood supplied in this fashion from the heart of the mother.

This intimate relation is the basis of maternity, the ultimate source of that bond between mother and offspring which so often persists through life and survives the vicissitudes of more passionate affections. It results in the embryo being wholly dependent upon the health of the mother for its own well-being. It responds to every change in her bodily system; for the time that the connection lasts their lives are as one. Not only has the mother to maintain her own existence, but she has constantly to give of her own vital strength that the embryo may live and grow. Thus even at this early and obscure stage we discover the characteristic maternal sacrifice.

It is not until the fifteenth or sixteenth week after conception that the embryo shows any very distinct external structure. Then it hangs by the umbilical cord, suspended in the midst of fluid which fills the cavity of the womb and protects the embryo from any shocks which might affect it from the outside. At this stage the new organism seems to be mostly head. Two little protuberances indicate where the arms will develop; two other protuberances at the end of the tiny body indicate the legs. Towards the end of two months, these rudimentary limbs have further developed, the whole embryo has become larger, and the rudiments of the organs of reproduction make their appearance. The development proceeds slowly until at the end of six months all the distinctive human features of the embryo have made their appearance.

During this time the womb has been enlarging as the embryo grew, and this enlargement produces the distension of the abdominal regions which is the main external evidence of pregnancy. It is possible for the embryo to be born at this stage and live, though its fate is then doubtful. Three months more are required for it to reach its normal fitness for birth.

The embryo, now become a "foetus," lies in the womb with its head downwards, its arms crossed, the legs bent, and the whole body curled up so as to bring it within the least possible space. The crisis of birth is effected by spasmodic contractions of the womb, which recur at intervals of from five to twenty minutes, and occasion the pains of labour which are the prelude to child-birth. Then, too, the walls of the vagina relax considerably, so that when the uterine contractions, gradually dilating the neck of the womb, force the foetus outwards, the vagina expands sufficiently to allow it an easy passage to the outer world. The umbilical connection persists for a little while after birth, but the placenta itself is soon expelled. The umbilical cord is cut, and the child, its old source of life being no longer available, draws its first breath and begins its existence as an independent being.

Its independence, of course, is by no means absolute. It is almost as unfit to fend for itself as when imprisoned in the womb of its mother. Its existence depends, as heretofore, on its being supplied with suitable nourishment. This is furnished by the glands on the breast of the mother. During the period of pregnancy, when the embryo has been developing, these glands have been preparing for the part they have to play when the embryo is born. The last months of pregnancy see an increase in size, and when birth has taken place, the glands begin their important

function of secreting milk, the staple food of the child during the first weeks of its life. It is just as if the vital energy which once flowed in the form of blood through the umbilical cord were diverted to the production of life-giving milk. The glands become full of the fluid, so full as to produce a feeling of pressure which is relieved by the child sucking the milk through the nipple of the gland.

IV.—Soon after the child thus begins its individual life, all its organs, with one exception, are able to perform their particular functions. The sexual organs constitute the exception. In the case of the male child, the first fifteen or sixteen years of its life are past before its sexual organs attain that degree of development which would make them capable of the reproductive act. The age at which they attain it is called the age of puberty; and the attainment is accompanied by several very interesting phenomena. The testicles become enlarged and begin to perform their function of producing spermatozoa. With this the sexual desires of the organism are roused and the sex-life begins.

This important change is not without its external evidences. Hair appears on the sexual regions, under the arm-pits, and later on the chin. The larynx grows in size and the pitch of the voice changes from an alto to a tenor or even a deeper note. These are the tokens of the attainment of sexual maturity, when the boy becomes, in the eye of nature, a man. From this period onward, a new problem enters into his life; and it never leaves him until old age brings with it the death of sexual activity.

Puberty comes to the female at a somewhat earlier age. There is no change of voice comparable with that in the male, and the growth of hair is confined to the arm-pits and

the sexual regions. But the full development of the sexual organs is not evidenced, as in the case of the male, merely by the awakening of sexual desires and a few external signs. It is accompanied by a phenomenon of a peculiarly interesting description, one which is of the first importance in the sex-life of every female. To this phenomenon, which has been the source of a marvellous amount of misconception, superstition, and dispute, is given the name *menstruation*.

As its name implies, menstruation is a phenomenon of monthly occurrence. It mainly affects the mucous membrane which lines the womb, although its influence is felt all through the body and touches even the emotions and intellect. Once every lunar month, this membrane becomes congested and then begins to disintegrate. The debris so formed, mingled with the blood which escapes from the ruptured membrane, passes through the neck of the womb and thence outwards through the vagina. This constitutes the "menstrual flow," a process which occupies from three to six days as a rule, and results in the whole lining of the womb being removed. Thereafter a rapid process of healing sets in; the mucous membrane is formed again and persists until the next menstrual period, when it suffers the fate of its predecessor.

This monthly event is accompanied by several interesting changes in the physical condition of the individual. At the approach of the period, the pulse-rate rises slightly, and there is a tendency for the general activity to increase. This increase reaches a climax, and the menstrual flow begins. Then the pulse becomes slower, the appetite decreases, the digestion becomes disturbed; there is a tendency to flushing of the face, with a loss of clearness of complexion sometimes accompanied by dark rings under

the eyes. Often the breath and skin are of a peculiar aromatic odour. The voice loses its clearness; there is a predisposition to *malaise*, headache, and unusually heavy sleep. The genital regions are congested, giving a feeling of pain and tension, which is shared by the breasts and the thyroid gland, situated at the sides of the neck.

During the period, also, any natural inclination to caprice, depression or fits of temper, is exaggerated, the whole system, indeed, being in a tense and excitable state. All of these symptoms do not invariably occur, though they are all frequent accompaniments of the menstrual crisis. In delicate or diseased women several of them may be emphasised to an unhealthy degree, and even in a normal healthy case they make the individual for the time being a partial invalid.

These features of the phenomenon of menstruation have, in the main, been recognised for centuries. They are part of the accepted facts of physiology, having been verified almost *ad infinitum*. But although the phenomenon itself has thus become almost a commonplace, few matters are more disputed than its meaning and purpose. Nearly every book treating of the subject gives it a different interpretation; and although authoritative opinion is now drifting in the direction of a certain theory, it is impossible to be anything like dogmatic in coming to a conclusion.

Some things are, however, fairly certain. The menstrual period is generally associated with a heightening of the sexual desires which, when observed in animals, goes by the name of "heat" or "rut." It is also accompanied, as a rule, with the process of "ovulation," in which the ovum, ripened to a state fit for fertilisation, is liberated from the ovary. The three processes are roughly parallel, and this

parallelism indicates that the time of menstruation is also that best fitted for a fertile sexual union, the sexual desires being then at their height and the female cells being in the best condition for impregnation by the spermatozoa.

These considerations have led a number of authorities to look upon menstruation as the result of disappointed impregnation. From this point of view the growth of the mucous membrane of the womb, which goes on until the beginning of the menstrual period, is regarded as a direct preparation for receiving an ovule should it be fertilised through coition. At the same period of preparation, the sexual desires are strongest and ovulation has produced an ovule ready for fertilisation. When coition does not take place, all these preparations are useless, and the natural reaction from this state of extreme readiness is expressed in a rapid relapse and a disintegration of the tissue which has been denied the end for which it was formed.

Havelock Ellis and the authors of "The Evolution of Sex" are inclined to regard this as the most reasonable view of this peculiar phenomenon; but it is plain that such a view is merely their opinion, not their conviction. More information, more investigation, is wanted before a reliable conclusion can be obtained. At present we can only note the growing tendency to regard menstruation and "rut" as fundamentally identical in character. The sanguinary flow is only found in the genus *homo* and some of the higher animals, such as the apes. In the lower animals it is absent, but in their case menstruation is represented, according to this view, by the periodic rise of sexual emotion in the female, during which period alone the animal will admit the male.

Here an obvious objection may be made. The rutting time being the only period during which the animal per-

mits coition, one would expect the menstrual period to be similarly fit for coition, in the case of menstruating animals, man included. But in even the lowest tribes of mankind, sexual intercourse during menstruation is prohibited, often with the utmost strictness. It is understood, indeed, that sexual desire is absent during the time of the menstrual flow, being only present in a heightened degree immediately before and after the period.

This fact would appear to be an insuperable argument against any theory that rut and menstruation are really one and the same thing. It is difficult to see how one and the same phenomenon could produce such contradictory results in species not so very far removed from each other in the scale of evolution. And the difficulty remains until it is discovered how the extreme prejudice amongst human beings to intercourse during menstruation has really arisen.

That prejudice has all along been closely associated with religious superstitions and the dogmas of ignorant mythology. To the mind of primitive man, the phenomena of menstruation were eminently calculated to arouse that wondering fear which is the mainspring of early religious notions. From the earliest times a menstruating woman has been "taboo," unclean. Every savage nation has a superstition associated with her. The ancient Hindoos and Jews regarded her in much the same light as a leper. Some of these early superstitions survive to-day even among civilised peoples—a fact which eloquently shows how deep-seated these misconceptions are. In modern Greece a menstruating woman is not allowed to kiss the images in the churches or join in the communion service. In our own country it is devoutly believed by many otherwise fairly intelligent people that the touch of a woman

in the same condition is contaminating, to the extent of spoiling hams and turning milk sour.

For the details of this interesting aspect of religious folly, the reader may consult the second volume of Havelock Ellis's "Psychology of Sex." The sole reason for touching upon it here is to emphasise a theory which has important bearings on the moral problems we shall have to consider later, as well as upon the interesting question of the place of menstruation itself in the sex-life. This theory is to the effect that the prejudice against sexual intercourse during menstruation is a religious, not a natural prejudice. Dr. Ellis is strongly of opinion that in this case the organised weight of superstition has actually reversed the natural inclinations of women during the menstrual crisis. We have only to remember the immense power which superstition has over the primitive, and even the civilised, intelligence to see that this cause is quite equal to producing the effect assigned to it.

It has, moreover, been aided by the physiological relapse which marks the beginning of menstruation, a relapse which tends for the moment to lower the sexual ardour as it lowers the whole vital tone and activity. The theory is at least an extremely plausible one, and its truth is all the more likely in view of the fact that sex is the subject upon which superstitious prejudice of various sorts has had the greatest effect. Religion and the sex-life have gone hand in hand through the ages; and in the immediate to-day as well as in the remote yesterday we find the mass of men following, in their sexual relations, not so much their natural instincts, or their cultivated reason, as the dictates of a religious faith that has been consolidated through centuries of misconception, ignorance, and superstition.

V.—Whatever doubts may exist as to the exact physio-

logical meaning of menstruation, there is no doubt that it marks the highest period in a monthly rhythm in the sex-life of every woman. It is the highest point in a wave which rises and falls each month, now touching the summit of sexual activity at the menstrual period and now receding until it touches the point of lowest sexual vigour, midway between two periods. Therefore we may say, with a stretch of language, that the inconstancy of woman has a real physiological basis and lies outside the region of her control. Man, on the other hand, is generally supposed to be free from any such imposed rhythm in his physical being; he is subject to no such physiological law which disturbs the even intensity of his erotic desires. Menstruation, in short, is regarded as one of the phenomena which mark off the sexes from one another with an insuperable barrier.

There is every indication, in the light of recent experiments, that this popular and wholly natural opinion is a mistaken one. There is, of course, no such thing as a menstrual crisis in the male, but he nevertheless appears to be subject to a sexual rhythm, a periodic rise and fall in sexual activity, which, like menstruation, is completed within the space of a lunar month.

Most of the available information on this interesting subject will be found summarised in the volume on "The Psychology of Sex" already mentioned; as it is yet one of the unsolved problems of the science of sex, it need not be dealt with here in detail. But there are one or two considerations which might lead us to expect some kind of parallelism in this matter between man and woman. Not only are the two sexes linked together by their origin in a common cell far back in the early stages of evolution, but the male and female sexual organs of even the highest animals show a general similarity in design and purpose

which suggests that any notable function on the part of one will be reproduced in some form by the other.

This similarity extends even to details. The clitoris, it has been remarked, is very like a rudimentary penis; the testicles correspond to the ovaries, the epididymis to the Fallopian tubes, and the seminal vesicles to the womb. Hence it need not be a matter of surprise that the male organs show something approaching the monthly rhythm which is so marked a feature of the corresponding female organs. The investigations bearing on this question have as yet been exceedingly meagre, though they all seem to lead to the same conclusion. Where the general principles of human evolution point so clearly to the same result, there is a sound hope that continued investigation will confirm the theory that man, like woman, is affected by a monthly rise and fall in sexual vigour.

Nevertheless, it is plain that the rise and fall in man cannot be so great as in the case of woman, else it would almost surely have been recognised long ago. Compared with his counterpart, the male leads a uniform sexual life—at least as far as his individual physical organisation is concerned. The female is, as Havelock Ellis puts it, always on a curve, now rising to the menstrual maximum, now sinking away from it. This deeply-rooted difference between the sexes affects not only their physical sexual existence, but also that higher life of sexual emotion and thought which forms the subject of the following chapter.

There remains to us the question of what part the reproductive life of man plays with regard to the totality of his physical existence. We may at once recognise that although the sexual organs themselves are very highly specialised for a particular purpose, they are so linked with the other organs of the human frame that no change

in them is without its effect on the whole system. The spermatozoa and the ovules are formed from the blood, which is indeed the basis of the life of the whole organism. Thus each act of reproduction involves a sacrifice of life-material, a sacrifice in which the whole body takes part, since it ultimately means a sacrifice of blood.

In the act itself, too, the whole nervous system is thrown into a state of intense excitation; respiration and circulation are profoundly affected. Therefore it is impossible to separate the activity of the genital organs from the general life of the body. If that life is unhealthy, the genital activity must suffer; and any morbid activity on the part of the genital organs must react in some fashion on the bodily life.

This is particularly true in the case of woman. We have already noted the influence of menstruation on her general condition; and it is evident that pregnancy, which makes peculiarly heavy demands upon her system, must have correspondingly important effects on her physical existence. There would be no necessity for emphasising these obvious facts were it not for the prevailing tendency to divorce sex from its connection with the bodily life of mankind, a tendency which proceeds even to the extent of supposing that it is almost a matter of physiological indifference whether sexual activity is repressed or exercised. Everything in the popular attitude towards sex is apt to encourage this tendency; everything in the physiology of sex militates against it. In the higher regions of the sex life we shall find the same tendency powerfully, even more powerfully, at work; and in this case it is the business of the psychology of sex to combat it likewise. Not even love in its highest and most spiritual forms is a thing apart from the root and pith of the human frame.

CHAPTER IV.

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF SEX.

- I.—The higher and lower sex passions—Love and lust differ in degree, not kind—Evolution of sexual emotion—Its relation to organic development.
- II.—Sexual emotions and the reproductive organs—Their relations—Emotions not altogether dependent on development or entirety of genital organs—Sexual desire before puberty—Effects of castration on sexual emotions—Effects of genital exhaustion.
- III.—The five senses and the sexual instinct—The sense of touch—Touch the primitive sexual language—Its electrical character—"Magnetic" personalities—The electrical basis of mutual sympathy.
- IV.—The sense of sight—Beauty and the sex instinct—"Love at first sight"—Erotic association and the sense of sight—Erotic suggestion—The sense of hearing—Similar relations to the sex instinct—The sense of taste—The sense of smell—Its unappreciated importance.
- V.—The senses the basis of sexual emotion—Development of intellectual love—Complexity of sex passion—Herbert Spencer's analysis—Love and personal exaltation—The irresistibility of sex passion—Its organic source—Types of sex passion.

I.—There is a measure of danger in discussing the physiology and the psychology of sex in different chapters, inasmuch as such a division between the subjects tends to encourage a common mistake regarding the relation of the higher forms of sex-passion to the lower. Physiology deals with the physical outcome of sex-passion, while psychology deals with its emotional and intellectual aspects.

To separate the two is to suggest that they are apart in actual nature, that there is a wide gulf between the physical manifestations of sex and those where feeling and sentiment play the principal part. In a word, this arrangement emphasises the popular idea of the vital distinction between lust and love, between the passion of the animal and the spiritualised affection of a rational being.

To a certain extent this popular idea is justified. There is unquestionably a great difference between brute lust and refined love; the one has for its aim the gratification of passing physical desire, while the other is guided by a lofty and unselfish ideal. But this difference, like that between man and the animal, is a difference of degree, not of kind. It is as erroneous to think that lust is accompanied by no emotion, as it is to imagine that love, even in its highest forms, is not alloyed with some traces of physical passion. It will be the purpose of the present chapter to show that the attraction between the sexes is never without an element of emotion, that it is never a matter in which the reproductive organs are alone concerned.

In this case, as in the evolution of man himself from the animal, we have to recognise an ascending scale from the base to the noble. At the foot of the scale there is the blind unreasoning passion of the uncultured man, who displays only those emotions which the human race shares with its brute forbears. Higher up, the emotional element becomes more refined; there is a dawning sense of æsthetic taste, of altruistic consideration for the object of affection. As we ascend the scale, this refinement increases until we reach that purified passion of which the poets sing. But it must never be forgotten that the base of the scale is founded in the animal world, where lust, as it is called, is

a supreme law and only the simplest and most primitive emotions accompany the consummation of the sexual life. The poet's love has grown from that foundation, and to separate that love from the lust from which it sprang is to deny a direct line of natural descent.

This chapter, therefore, must be regarded as merely a continuation of the previous one. From the organic basis of the reproductive act, with its emotional accompaniments, it will seek to trace the gradual development of these accompaniments in number and strength, and their gradual union with those intellectual elements which most of all distinguish us from the creatures of the lower world. It is this union of body, heart, and head which marks the supreme love, the complete realisation of human possibilities for the highest happiness. This, and not the shadowy, emasculated vision of the mystic, wherein the things of the body have no place, is the true ideal of human affection.

It is difficult to lay one's finger on the point in the scale of evolution at which emotion first accompanies the union of sex cells in the act of reproduction. Not even the first beginnings of a nervous system, which is supposed to be necessary before feeling can exist, can be taken as marking this important milestone in sexual development. For in the case of the micro-organisms already described (p. 32) there are no traces of a nervous system, while there is every indication of some rudimentary kind of feeling. Their curious mimicry of the wooings of higher animals would be meaningless were they not able to feel attractions and repulsions, those primitive feelings from which love and hate are born.

Where there is a well-developed nervous system, there

is no doubt in the matter. The creatures of the animal world are driven to the procreative act by a power which can be nothing else than true sexual emotion. We have already referred to the love songs of birds and the antics of brightly-plumaged male members of the same class during the breeding season; such facts show that birds respond to the æsthetic emotions, these emotions being closely linked with the sexual life. Every class of well-developed animal supplies similar instances of emotional display in connection with the sexual act; and each brings to the same act an intensity of passional ardour which shows emotion at its height. It would be useless to multiply cases in point; all that is necessary is to indicate that in the animal world from which we have descended, there is a strong emotional element in that crisis of the sexual life which is so often regarded as a purely physical action in all creatures save man only. Sexual emotion is part of our natural inheritance, and a most valuable part. For it contains those germs of æsthetic, social, and self-sacrificing emotions, which have reached such heights of development in human history and formed such important elements in civilisation. When we pass the threshold of humanity, therefore, we are prepared to find a group of powerful and complex emotions associated with the organic sexual need. The analysis of that group remains as our immediate task.

II.—There is a common theory that the peculiarly sexual emotions depend entirely upon the existence and action of the reproductive organs. These organs, indeed, are often spoken of as the only source of sexual desire. Krafft-Ebing, in his important work entitled "*Psychopathia Sexualis*," says that the sexual life begins with the development of the sexual organs. It seems quite natural that

this should be the case, that there should be no sexual emotion until the particular organs which give it its natural expression are mature. And it is well known that the attainment of puberty is the sign for an access of the strong emotions of sex, that this crisis divides the life of the individual into two parts, one in which he is to all intents and purposes a non-sexual being and the other in which one of his chief characteristics is his sexuality.

From this it would seem that the sexual emotion could not possibly exist without the full development of the genital organs; but the impossibility is only apparent. There are indubitable facts which prove that the emotion of sex may exist even when the reproductive organs are incapable of duly performing their natural function, as when they are undeveloped, mutilated, or when old age has brought their period of vigour to an end.

Most of the recorded cases of sexual desire preceding the development of the genital organs belong to medical reports, being cases in which mental or bodily disease is present. Idiots and imbeciles are apt to betray the influence of such desire long before their genital development is complete. Even in the case of fairly normal beings, it would not be difficult to prove that the system responds to the stimulus of sexual desire years before the age of puberty. At any rate, it is fairly clear that sexual emotion may be felt previous to the date of sexual maturity. This means that the emotion in question is to some extent independent of genital development, that although the attainment of genital maturity, with its accompanying formation and storage of reproductive material, marks the real beginning of the sex life, some tremors of its powerful emotions may have been felt already by the undeveloped system.

The facts are still more clear as regards the mutilation of the reproductive organs. It might be thought that, as the testicles are the organs which produce the generative material, their removal would entail the disappearance of genital desire. This is not, however, the actual case. Castration, as such an operation is called, often puts an end only to the capacity for *fertile* copulation; the power of accomplishing coitus, with its attendant emotions, remains. Similarly in the case of woman, the sexual emotions may persist even when the ovaries, the essential reproductive organs, have been entirely removed. The decline which accompanies old age has a like effect. A man who is too old for actual reproduction may yet be susceptible to sexual attraction; while a woman who has passed the critical period of her life when menstruation ceases (the menopause) may also experience at least an echo of the sex-passion of her earlier years.

If, moreover, the existence of sexual emotion depended entirely upon the vigour of the genital organs, the satisfaction or exhaustion of these organs should entail the cessation of the emotion. But, after the genital organs have, through repeated coition, reached a stage at which they no longer respond to the normal sexual stimulus, the bodily system as a whole is still responsive to the manifestations of sexual emotion. Love does not die when the sexual organs have for a time reached the extremity of their activity and demand no more; caresses still appeal to the sensibilities, and the desire for intimate companionship continues almost undiminished. Thus the emotional side of the sex-life may survive the exhaustion of the purely physical sex functions, which rise and fall in vigour with the particular condition of the sexual organs.

All this evidence goes to show that we cannot look upon

the sexual organs themselves as the sole seat of the sexual emotions. It would indeed be a matter for surprise if such complex emotions could be referred entirely to a single set of organs. We have only to analyse these emotions to discover that they affect the whole system, bodily and mental, that all the senses—sight, smell, touch, and hearing—play their part in heightening the emotional intensity, and that sexual love thrills man through his entire physical, moral, and intellectual being. This view of the matter places the organs of reproduction on an independent and somewhat secondary plane; their function is almost solely that of giving physical expression to an attraction which involves body, heart, and soul in its influence.

III.—The part which the various senses play with regard to the sexual instinct is easily recognised. The most primitive and important of them all, that of touch, reveals its effect in so many obvious ways that it is almost unnecessary to refer to it at any length. Every caress given and taken is a testimony to its influence, as it is an index to the ardour of the emotion which prompts it. The seat of the caress is usually some part where the nervous susceptibility is highly developed, as in the hands and lips.

It must be recognised, moreover, that the sexual organs themselves are, as regards their more external parts, tactile organs. They are highly sensitive to the same kind of external stimulus as lies in a hand-pressure or a kiss, a stimulus which may affect the whole nervous system and lead to an access of sexual emotion. Sentimentalists do not usually consider the language of touch to be the language of love, but there is no doubt it has the right of priority to be so considered. Long before eyes, ears, or nose had made their appearance in the womb of evolution,

the sense of touch had played its part in accomplishing the reproductive ends of nature. The love-antics of the protozoa already described (p. 32) are carried on simply by a primitive sense of touch, a sense which through the ages of natural development becomes so acute and refined as to be capable of expressing the most delicate shades of emotion. In human beings this development has reached its climax. The mere touch of a sympathetic person is sometimes enough to rouse the sexual emotions; and when it is accompanied by all those refinements of caress to which human love has educated itself, it becomes one of the most powerful instruments of the sex-life.

Here it is interesting to notice that the influence of touch is to a certain extent an electric one. Nerves transmit their messages from organ to brain and from brain to organ by means of electrical currents, and it is hardly a stretch of language to look upon the human body as an electrical system. The thrill which, in reality as well as in popular fiction, so often accompanies a touch from a person of the opposite sex, is strictly comparable to an electrical discharge through the nerves affected. In the sexual act itself, where nervous excitation reaches its most intense point, there seems to be something in the nature of a mutual electrical discharge—a phenomenon which would account for the physical quietude which follows that act, inasmuch as it relieves the tension of the nervous system.

This electrical element in the sense of touch will also aid us in understanding the powerful influence which some individuals possess over others. These individuals are usually of a highly emotional temperament, as if their nerves were the seat of more electrical energy than they could easily find an outlet for. Their touch means more than the touch of an ordinary person; it has either a much

stronger subduing or exciting effect. Such persons are generally spoken of as possessing *magnetic* personalities, and the term is not altogether inappropriate. It seems, at any rate, that their peculiar power is due to the high-strung condition of their nervous systems, a state of affairs in which electrical influences must play some part. Such exceptional nervous power is usually accompanied by a correspondingly exceptional capacity for emotional excitement.

Before leaving this part of the subject, it is well worth noting that such magnetic or electrical influence of one person on another does not depend altogether upon actual contact. There is such a thing as electrical action at a distance, which the success of wireless telegraphy practically testifies. An electrical machine in one corner of a room is able to affect the condition of another machine in the opposite corner, the waves of electrical energy passing through the ether of the space between. So it is with human beings, themselves electrical machines. That subtle sense of the presence of a second person, when sight, smell, touch, or hearing give no clue, is due to this silent and penetrating electrical influence. And every one of us seems to possess a particular quality in this way, just as we have a particular quality of touch, of speech. Hence it is that the presence of every person does not affect us in the same way; with some, the subtle influence harmonises with our own, with others, it affects us with a vague sense of discord. This mutual influence is often the secret of those unreasoning likes and dislikes that people, especially of opposite sexes, have for each other even at their first meeting. It is partly responsible, too, for that strange sympathy between certain people which enables them to read each other's thoughts and anticipate each other's

wishes without a word being spoken or a gesture being made. Possibly, also, no complete love can exist without a basis in this subtle sympathy. It is this which makes the mere presence of the other a source of pleasure and of a feeling of rest and satisfaction, while absence brings with it a vague sense of want. It is this which forms the hidden foundation of that mutual understanding without which affection is a mere name. For the most part we are unconscious of its action and can only judge of its reality indirectly from its effects. Human experience has clearly shown the existence of these effects; and it is not too much to say that we have here a branch of physiological psychology which would well repay more careful study and cultivation.

IV.—To return to the part which the five senses play in the sex-life, we come again to the level where facts are more numerous and definite. The sense of touch has been shown to play a most important part in stimulating sexual emotion; the sense of sight is, though a later development in evolution, entitled to almost as high a place. For it is the source of those æsthetic feelings which play their part in the sexual life even of animals. The gaily-coloured plumage of the male bird of paradise, of the peacock, and of many other birds, appeals through the sense of sight to the erotic feelings of the female, thus forming an important element in their lowly courtships. In the case of man, this primitive mode of feeling has become developed into an æsthetic sense, which in civilised countries reaches a stage of complexity and refinement which gives it an immense power over the feelings. Beauty, both in the male and the female, is an element in sexual attraction which has a first place in the opinion of very many people. Poetry and romance testify in a most unmistakeable way to the

important influence which lovely form and colour have over the sexual susceptibilities; and human experience confirms their testimony at every point. But since form and colour can appeal to the feelings only through the sense of sight, we must recognise that sense as the medium of this powerful sexual stimulus. "Love at first sight" is one of the commonplaces of sentimental romance, and it could never occur, except perhaps through the subtle electrical sympathy already discussed, were the eyes not one of the open gateways to the heart.

Beauty, however, is not necessary to sexual stimulus through the sense of sight. The power of association is so strong that the appearance of a member of the opposite sex, though not affecting our sense of beauty in any particular way, calls up memories of the erotic experiences of the past. It may also awaken that instinct which slumbers in the body until the age of puberty; and if it do not awaken it, it may give it definite direction and purpose. The feminine sex, being coquettes from time immemorial, have not been slow to develop this form of sexual association into a very art of suggestion. Not only do they seek to influence men by their direct beauty, but they, when modesty or the conventionalities of society do not restrain them, add to its power by glimpses and gestures which are merely half-hints of what they dare not display or express. On the music-hall stage, especially on the Continent, this art of suggestion has been developed to an exceptional *finesse* and has reached the climax of cleverness and audacity. Its power over the sexual emotions, subtle though it may be, can hardly be denied, for the puritans of both sexes are unanimous in its disfavour. We must therefore regard it as an additional testimony to the value of the sense of sight as a medium of the sexual emotions.

What has been said of the sense of sight may well be repeated of the sense of hearing. The love-songs of birds have much the same influence as brilliant plumage; and in man the hearing, appealed to by music and speech, is a powerful ally of the sense of sight. Here, also, beauty plays its part in the sexual life; for a voice which is, either in speech or song, exquisite in tone and inflexion makes a more powerful appeal to the emotions than one which lacks these æsthetic qualities.

Beauty of language is not, moreover, without considerable power, though in this case the power lies mainly in the sexual associations of the thoughts expressed. These associations may become so fixed and powerful that the language which gives the key to them sinks into comparative insignificance. The language of love is often, indeed, sufficiently idiotic, as the usual conversation of ardent lovers abundantly testifies. Nevertheless, whether the voice and language be beautiful or not, their effect on the sexual emotions, by means of the sense of hearing, is undeniably great.

It might at first sight appear that touch, sight, and hearing were the only senses that had anything to do with the stimulating of sexual emotions. Those of smell and taste do not seem to suggest themselves in connection with the emotions in question. There is, in fact, some doubt whether the sense of taste has any relation at all to the sex-life. The study of animals does not give us any hint of its influence, and in the case of man there are only some doubtful instances in which morbid individuals have shown themselves sexually affected by that sense. It seems safe to conclude that it has no apparent influence at all; but the same cannot be said of the sense of smell. Its *rôle* is not so great in man as in the case of many animals. With

them the odour of the female, omitted most strongly during the period of rut, is at once a guide and a sexual incitement to the male. Man's sense of smell is not nearly so acute as that of many animals, and its influence in relation to sex is correspondingly less.

But it is by no means dead, as many facts clearly prove. The use of perfumes by women has an undoubted influence on the sexual emotions, however innocent the wearers may be of any such intention. "The sweet perfume of a dressing-room," said the frank Rousseau, "is not so feeble a snare as one might think, and I do not know whether one ought to congratulate or pity the wise man whose heart does not throb at the odour of the flowers on his mistress's bosom." Mantegazza relates a case in which a lady remarked, "I feel so much pleasure in smelling a flower that it appears to me I commit a sin"; and Féré, quoting this instance in his "Pathology of Emotions," notes that "whatever may be the odour which provokes a sensation of agreeable kind, the mimetic movements of the nose and the upper lip especially recall those which accompany genetic excitation."

Fits of sneezing have been known to accompany the physiological activity of the genital organs, a fact which clearly indicates a close connection between the olfactory nerves and these organs. Perhaps the most striking illustration of this connection is the oft-quoted story of the Duc d'Anjou and the beautiful Marie de Clèves. At the marriage of the King of Navarre, both were present, and the princess, having danced for a long time and become very warm, passed into a cloak room to remove her chemise. Shortly afterwards the Duc entered and by mistake wiped his face with the garment. Its odour so intoxicated him

that he vowed he would not rest until he had discovered and won the wearer.

V.—Thus we see that we need not go past the primitive senses of man to find a basis for the emotional life of sex. Touch, sight, hearing, and smell are the strings from which nature produces the harmonies of love, harmonies in which tenderness and passion are the main elements. We know, also, that from the life of sense alone there has risen, through natural evolution, the life of the mind and the higher emotions, the life in which the ideal is supreme. It is natural, therefore, that this higher life should be linked to the world of sex, even as is the sensual life from which it has grown. The study of the senses shows that we love with our whole body, love, as it were, with blood and bone and nerve. But one step more in the study of love will show as clearly that we love with our minds as well, that our highest thoughts and aspirations are all imprisoned in the net of sexual attraction.

It is indeed difficult to find anything in the higher life of man which has not some bearing upon or connection with the sex-life. In Herbert Spencer's admirable analysis of "the passion which unites the sexes," the philosopher runs through the whole gamut of human nature. Beginning at the purely physical elements—those afforded by the activity of the genital organs—he adds to them the highly complex impressions produced by personal beauty, and to these the sentiments of affection, admiration, respect, or reverence, the love of approbation, the allied emotions of self-esteem, the pleasure of possession, and the sense of extended liberty of action. To these also is added the exaltation of the sympathies, every pleasure being doubled by the other's participation in it.

In fact, under the influence of sexual love the whole being is exalted, its capacities are enlarged, and its sensibilities, mental, moral, and physical, brought to a pitch of fineness otherwise unknown. Thus it is that when love comes to a man, it thrills him through every fibre of his being, and rouses all the potentialities of his nature to activity. Head, heart, and body bend their energies on the one end of love, the consummation of the sex-life, the ultimate union and community of interests of the two sexes. Therefore it is in love that man realises not only his physical existence but his mental and moral existence too; his soul is mated as well as his body. In this fact we get an indication of the supreme power of sex in human life, and of the reason why one is justified in calling the sex-problem, in the words of Havelock Ellis, "the central problem of life."

So far, our analysis of sexual love is fairly complete, in outline. One interesting question which remains is that of the source of the irresistibility of love. There is no need to argue that irresistibility, for the whole of history plainly shows that the one thing in man that cannot be crushed, by religion or by law, is the love of man and woman. Irresistibility is indeed its distinguishing quality; and our analysis of the passion should give us the origin of that quality. Spencer finds it in the complexity of love: "this passion fuses into one immense aggregate most of the elementary excitations of which we are capable; and . . . hence results its irresistible power." It is doubtful, however, whether the mere complexity of the emotion is the real source of its strength, even though its various elements converge towards the one end. Unless it had a very deep organic basis, we should not expect it to gain a very great influence over the system.

The sex-passion has that deep organic basis in a very marked degree; it reaches down into the inmost fibres of our being and gives rise to a physical impulsion which may sometimes prove superior to the craving for food and the instinct of self-preservation. Therefore it seems clear that we must look to the physical side of love for the foundation of its power, of that quality of passion which it possesses above all other emotions. A strong physical impulsion is in fact necessary to the part which love plays in the perpetuation of the species. It is plain that those members of the human family in whom love was lacking in organic passion, would have few or no offspring and would thus fail to perpetuate their particular mode of feeling. On the other hand, those whose love was marked with a strong passional element would be the very ones who would bring the next generation into existence. This generation would naturally tend to possess the qualities of its parents; and in this fashion the organic basis of love would be maintained. Were it not deep-seated, and the source of intense physical impulsion, the development of man's higher nature might weaken it so much as to prevent the physical consummation of the sex-life. But such a state of affairs, leading as it does to sterility, would mean the extinction of the race. That is why the real higher development of love does not involve the crushing out of all physical elements, but the fusing of these with the finer emotional and intellectual elements which distinguish man from the animal. That is why, also, the ideal of platonic love is one for which only the confirmed ascetic can have any consistent admiration.

It seems, therefore, that Mr. Spencer was only partly right in attributing to the complexity of love its irresistible power. But that complexity is plainly the cause of another distinguishing quality of sex-emotion:—its diver-

sity. No two people love in exactly the same way; if we were to analyse the passion which love evolves in each, we would not find exactly the same ingredients, nor would the ingredients common to both be found to be in equal proportions. This is merely the same as saying that no two men are the same. For the influence of love on a man is to exalt his faculties, to string his nature up to a higher pitch of intensity, to evoke powers which otherwise would have remained dormant.

In love, therefore, we see a man's personality emphasised, perhaps exaggerated; and we therefore expect his emotion to be in some fashion a reflection of his particular character. Thus, if he is sensuous, the physical and lower qualities of the sexual emotion will predominate, and the loftier and more sensitive qualities will be almost absent. If he is egotistical, the pride of possession, the love of approbation and the other egotistical elements of love will characterise his feelings. If he is mystical and prone to the pursuit of shadowy ideals, he will tend to an ethereal platonic love. Thus it is that love, though we analyse it in general into so many ingredients, never is twice the same in particular cases. Although it is the oldest of passions, it is always new, for everyone gives it a fresh individual expression, corresponding with the nature of his personality.

Nevertheless, it is possible to recognise a number of types of love, just as it is possible to classify men generally into sensuous, emotional, intellectual, and so on. These divisions are made according as one certain group of the ingredients of love is more powerful than the others. It would serve no useful purpose to attempt such a classification here; but the possibility of such a classification leads us naturally to discover whether the characteristics of love are the same or different in the two sexes. We have seen,

in our chapter on "The Evolution of Sex," that fundamentally the two sexes possess very clear distinguishing features, and we therefore expect these features to be retained in some form or another all through the scale of development. In other words, we expect the organisms of men and women to show some evidence of other sexual differences than are involved in the mere possession of different sex organs. Some of these differences have been indicated in the chapter on "The Physiology of Sex." We have now to develop this interesting matter a stage or two further.

CHAPTER V.

MAN AND WOMAN.

- I.—Current ignorance of physical and other differences between the sexes—Some obvious physical differences—Large size of males—Its meaning.
- II.—The large pelvis of woman—Its relation to the function of maternity—Nature's dilemma—Why genius is rare—Pelvis the seat of sexual emotions—These emotions more predominant in woman than in man—Woman's greater "affectability"—Influence of education on woman's emotions—Emotional life of men and women compared.
- III.—The suppression of sexual emotion by will power—Its result in women—The sexual purist—De-sexualised women—The "third sex."
- IV.—Intellectual superiority of man—Its organic cause—Women in philosophy, literature, art, music, and the drama—Their inferiority analysed—Intellect not sole or even highest standard—Moral equality of the sexes.
- V.—Woman's past and future—Her personal and economic emancipation—Woman's industries compared with man's—Feminine weaknesses and limitations—Women in trade unions—Their failure.

I.—There are many problems in the science of sex to which only tentative solutions can be given. Facts are wanting, and men are still unaccustomed to handling the subject in a scientific spirit. This is the case most conspicuously with the subject-matter of the present chapter—the characteristics which distinguish the sexes from each other.

It may seem strange that this should be so, inasmuch as man has been studying himself and his counterpart ever since his intellectual curiosity gained an appreciable strength. One would have thought that love itself, which throws men and women into such a close and sympathetic intimacy, would have furnished the insight which the patient study of sexual differences seems reluctant to afford. But it is no mere sentimental fallacy to say that "love is blind," for although men and women have loved for countless generations, their knowledge of each other's inner nature is still rather confused and contradictory. It is as if there were a barrier between the sexes, through which comprehension could not pierce, just as there is a barrier between a man and his inner self. Man does not understand himself thoroughly yet; perhaps he never will; but meanwhile it is impossible to expect him, with his limited insight, to understand his sexual counterpart either.

Even in so far as he is theoretically capable of understanding human nature, the problem of the differences between the sexes has been unduly complicated by a variety of causes. Social and religious influences tend to impress people with a certain idea of what a man and what a woman ought to be. Some of these influences are associated with real distinguishing characteristics of man as compared with woman; they are therefore scientifically just. On the other hand, some of them arise from ignorance or superstition, and are therefore mere prejudices, not rational conclusions. For these reasons—the complex subtlety of the problem and the confusing influence of prejudice—no two men have the same opinion on even the fundamental aspects of the subject.

Nevertheless literature dealing directly or indirectly with the matter is abundant, since few philosophers, poets, or

romancists have omitted to record their views and speculations. But it would be almost impossible to collate their opinions into a sound system, for they are miscellaneous to the point of inextricable confusion. The work of men of science in this field is not very considerable, and what there is of it possesses much the same quality of mutual contradiction. The perusal of such a book as Havelock Ellis's "Man and Woman" is more convincing as to what we do not know than as to what we do. And that is so in spite of the fact that it is an able epitome of existing scientific knowledge on the subject. Nevertheless, from out of the confusion of conflicting theories, certain well-ascertained facts stand clearly enough; it is mainly these which will be briefly touched upon here.

There are certain physical differences between man and woman, apart from the primary sexual organs, which are obvious and familiar to everyone. The typical male figure is taller, more muscular, more rugged in outline than the female, which has a softness and repose peculiar to our idea of the feminine. A woman's figure, moreover, is usually wider at the hips than at the shoulders, while broad shoulders and comparatively narrow hips are characteristic of a well-developed male.

These differences, we shall see, are not accidental; they are the outward expression of physiological differences between the sexes. Other differences of a minor character are the deeper voice common to man, and the special mode of growth of the hair. In woman it is mainly limited to the head, where it is luxuriant, while in man hair appears on the face as well as the head, and there is a general tendency for the body as a whole, particularly the chest and legs, to be more hairy than with the opposite sex.

A word must be said in passing on the fact that the

human male is generally of larger proportions than the female. In discussing the evolution of sex, large size was treated as a characteristically feminine attribute, as an outcome of the anabolic habit of life which distinguishes conservative females from the spendthrift, katabolic males. It seems a contradiction of this view to find the males of a species bulkier than the females; but the contradiction is not without its explanation. In the course of the struggle for existence the heavy work of searching for and capturing food, of defending mate and young, was thrown upon the male, while to the female were left the duties of maternity, these being, in the animal state, the prime purpose of her existence. Heavy demands were therefore made upon the strength of the males, and those whose larger development gave them an advantage over their fellows survived in the struggle for existence and procreated their kind. Thus as time went on there was a tendency towards an increase in the size of the males, a tendency constantly encouraged by natural selection.

No such demands for active strength being made in the case of the female, the male sex alone would tend to increase in size. It is noteworthy, too, that it is only in the higher animals that the demand is made at all. It is only with them that maternity involves such complicated, protracted, and delicate processes that it becomes necessary for the male to take the female under his protection. In the lower animals the rule holds good generally that the female is of larger bulk than the male. The exigencies of a more complex and intense life have reversed the rule in the case of the higher products of evolution—without, however, altering the fundamental tendency of the female to anabolism and of the male to katabolism. We have only to glance at the typical male and female figures to see

that the former is built for an active, energetic life and the latter suited to the more reposeful life associated with the burden of maternity.

II.—There are many interesting problems connected with the relative length, girth, and weight of various portions of the body in the two sexes, but as yet investigators display such a uniform lack of unanimity that few definite or useful results can be gathered from them. A great amount of minute study is still required before reliable conclusions can be reached; at present we need only consider the one most obvious and important structural difference between the sexes, that is, the broad hips of the female.

At no time do this difference and its consequences strike the eye more forcibly than when a woman dons a male costume, as is frequently done on the stage. Then the inordinate girth of thigh betrays the sex at once, even though every effort is made to minimise the swelling curves by concealing the waist line. In addition, the femurs are more inclined towards each other, giving a knock-kneed appearance to the legs; the toes, also, have a greater tendency to turn out than in man.

The action of running is another betraying characteristic. The only word which adequately expresses the action is the undignified one “waddle”; the hips swing, and the legs from the knee downwards perform a sort of revolving compass motion which is distinctly different from the fore-and-aft action in man. There are, of course, some women in whom these feminine traits are not evident and conspicuous; but they are the exceptions. Some Rosalinds are quite successful in appearance, but their success is usually due to their departure from the usual feminine proportions, aided by the art which conceals nature.

This distinguishing width of thigh is due to the increase in size of the bones of the pelvis, an increase which, it will be readily seen, has a direct relation to woman's distinguishing function. Not only does a broad pelvis afford room for the free growth of the embryo in the womb, but, as the child passes between the centre bones of the pelvis at birth, it is important that the space should be as ample as possible.

It is therefore in the interests of the species that women should have a wide pelvis; as a rule, broad hips signify capability for the functions of maternity. But the pelvis has an important part to play which sets a very definite limit on the extent to which it can widen. It forms the bridge between the femurs and the end of the spine, and therefore has to support the weight of the body; consequently it cannot widen without imperilling the strength of the bony system. So we have to recognise that in woman the proportions of the pelvis are a balance between the tendency to widen in the interests of maternity and to remain narrow in the interests of mechanical support.

Animals which go on all fours are not placed in this dilemma, since the pelvis with them has to support only a small portion of the weight of the body. When the ancestors of man stood erect, they set nature a puzzle which she has tried to solve by a not altogether successful compromise.

It is therefore clear that there are very precise limits to the size of the passage through which the child has to pass at birth. Obstetric physicians are well acquainted with the fact that it is often not large enough, that the child meets its death in the process of forcing its head through a too narrow pelvis. Only in exceptional cases, therefore, can a child, born successfully, have a head above a certain

limit in size. Nature has been obliged, in fact, to unintentionally put a check on the survival of offspring with an exceptional brain development. How often genius has been crushed in this way at the very gateway of life it would be impossible to calculate; but it is plain that genius must always be a rarity.

This is not so disheartening a fact as it might seem at first sight, for geniuses are not always an unmixed blessing, either to themselves or their fellows. Moreover, the close association between genius and madness indicates that a multiplication of genius would be accompanied by an increase in lunacy which would fully outweigh the advantages which exceptionally talented brains might bring with them. On the whole, therefore, it is well that a mechanical necessity has kept the human race within certain limits of brain development; the pelvic dilemma is indeed a providential one for the general happiness of the race. Herein it will not be impossible for the pious to find plain evidence of creative design.

The greater range and importance of the pelvic region in woman has other results than the almost mechanical one which we have just been discussing. The whole nervous system of woman is affected by the difference, which is perhaps the most fundamentally important of any that divides the sexes. The pelvis is the seat of the sexual emotions, and its greater development implies the corresponding exaggeration of these emotions. The exaggeration is more in the direction of excitability than intensity, for it is still a very debateable question whether sexual emotion is generally more intense in woman than in man. But there is little doubt about the fact that women are sexually more sensitive than men. Just as the sexual regions bulk more largely in their physical organisation,

so do the sexual emotions bulk more largely in their emotional life. And since the sexual emotions are bound up so closely with the other feelings, we would expect to find that woman is as a whole more emotionally susceptible than man.

Observation bears this out so well that special terms have been invented to express the difference, or rather the quality in woman which makes the difference. Perhaps the best of them is that adopted by Havelock Ellis:—"affectability." This quality betrays itself in many things that are sexually characteristic. It has been found that women respond to a stimulus, whether it be a physical one or the suggestion of a thought or emotion, more readily than men. Thus women are more susceptible to hypnotic influence, more prone to hysteria (which is a sort of emotional outburst); they blush more, cry more, and their faces are more mobile and full of expression. All these characteristics are the outcome of greater affectability.

It must be observed, however, that this difference between the sexes is not altogether due to the undoubtedly important difference in physical organisation. The references to hysteria, blushing, and crying as signs of affectability may serve to recall the fact that the women of some generations ago, as they are represented in contemporary fiction, were much more inclined to these feminine weaknesses. The day has gone past when the capacity for voluntary fainting was cultivated by women as a sexual attraction; what was regarded as a delicate feminine charm then is accounted a silly weakness now. We have only to compare the typical women in Dickens's novels with the women whom George Meredith depicts, to realise the magnitude of the change. There is nothing to make us believe that it was the result of any physical alteration; it seems,

indeed, to have been almost entirely a matter of education. It has ceased to be the fashion for women to cultivate the dependent attitude, the delicate clinging attributes which gave rise to the ancient simile of the oak and the ivy. Not only is their mental education improving, but their emotional life has been freed from many conventional bonds and allowed to develop in a freer atmosphere and encouraged by the more open companionship of both sexes. The rest has been a matter of athletics, which may be said to have just begun their influence on woman's emancipation.

But although the affectability of women is thus to a great extent influenced by changes in social customs, it has a deep organic basis which seems beyond the range of educative action. The ideal woman of the future may be considerably less affectable than the ideal woman of the early Victorian era, but it is not to be expected that she will be less affectable than man. So long as she is a woman, so long will her sexual regions play a more predominant part in her physiological being, and her sexual emotions consequently bulk more largely in her emotional life.

The result of this nervous peculiarity of women is that they live more in a world of emotions than does man. The centre of man's life may be said to be his head, and that of a woman her heart. In former times, when woman's sphere of interest was greatly restricted by social custom, she lived almost entirely in her emotions. Her one career was in matrimony; and to the attainment and pursuit of that career she brought all those energies which nowadays are dissipated over a large field of professional and æsthetic accomplishments. Generations of a life of that kind were bound to have their effect on the character and ideals of the

sex, and even to-day we find many otherwise intelligent people believing that woman's activity as a worker is an offence against her destiny as the ornament and continuer of existence.

As women's intellectual interests widen and increase, we may look for a corresponding decrease in their devotion to the emotional ideals of the past. Love, with its outcome in the respectability and security of marriage, will cease to be their whole existence; and it will become, as it is with man, a thing apart. But never to the same degree, for the greater affectability of women is a radical quality and tinges their motives and aims with a deeper emotional sensitiveness. It is difficult to find women possessed of so lofty an intellectual ideal that it dominates their whole life and keeps the promptings of the heart in abeyance; such men are not rare. Women are from first to last sexual beings, even in a more important sense than men; and although a number of women seem to find entire satisfaction in a career of solitary labour, that satisfaction is seldom attained save at the sacrifice of many of the feelings that lie at the base of the emotional gamut of women—the tender and passionate feelings associated with the love of mate and offspring. Man may do without these and be considered a success in the world; a woman who lacks them is, to the mind and heart of nearly everybody, an incomplete being, shorn of the most precious heritage of her sex.

III.—All these considerations are based on the assumption that women will always, by virtue of their organic nature, retain an intense and varied emotional capability, particularly in the direction of sexual feelings. They will do so, so long as they are women; for the mere thought of woman implies the affectability that is so deeply characteristic

of her. But there are signs that some women are capable of educating themselves into a condition in which this affectability, at least in relation to sex, is absent or reduced to a vanishing quantity. Much can be done by a direct effort of will in modifying feelings, even those that are deeply rooted. If we take the case of a woman with a particularly strong will, and with an affectability below the average, it is not impossible to imagine her gaining such a control over her emotional nature that she is able, by dint of perseverance, to crush any particular feeling she may find opposing her will. Thus if the sexual emotions are comparatively weak, and the woman in question finds that they are opposing her in the pursuit of her ambition, it is conceivably within her power to repress these emotions until they are practically non-existent.

A more frequent case is that in which, thanks to our puritanical view of sex matters in general, the woman may grow up with the idea that sexual manifestations are in themselves degrading. She will be encouraged in this by the weakness of her own sexual impulses, for the witnessing of passion beyond her capacity to imitate or understand, is almost bound to fill her with surprise and induce a feeling of repugnance. Then every sexual impulse is restrained at its beginning, every thought of love opposed as an unpardonable weakness. After years of such a process it is only natural that the woman should be almost desexualised, that she will have ceased to respond, save with dislike, to those promptings which to the ordinary woman are the most natural and beautiful things in the world. Only a strong passion, which nothing but chance can bring, will serve to shake the convictions which have warped her nature. She has become an abnormality, a being sterile alike in body and heart.

Many of the feminine purists who lead crusades against immorality seem to belong to this de-sexualised branch of the sex. For they are, to judge by their actions and utterances, incapable of either appreciating the action of passion in others or of experiencing its impulses themselves. They pose before the public in their incorruptible purity, forgetful that the fairest and most powerful temptation was never theirs to feel. Therein lies the reason of their unsympathetic treatment of those they set out to reform; they propose rules and laws which are based upon the Pharisaic assumption that "fallen" women have necessarily placed themselves outside the bounds of equable consideration. In their ideals they are mainly masculine, and their ranks have many recruits from the "new woman" class, that peculiarly modern group who complain bitterly of the male sex while painfully imitating its ways.

As a subject of burlesque they would be admirable, were it not possible, even probable, that they will become a real feature of society in a generation or two. The growing absorption of women in business pursuits, and the general tendency of the age towards nervous abnormalities, combine to encourage the movement towards what is practically a new sex. The sex will be a neuter sex: that is to say, it will be sterile and will be characterised by an absence of sexual feelings or capabilities. Its general emotional sensibility will be correspondingly less, and it will possess an unusual amount of will power which may well be utilised in work of considerable social value.

The advent of this new sex will therefore not be necessarily a misfortune to society at large, though the creation of a group of essential purists can hardly be an unalloyed benefit. They will probably take their place, like the workers in the bee-hive, as the labourers in the world, doing

their work at the bidding of a luke-warm ambition, without the passional distractions common to normal existence. It is hardly possible to congratulate them, for they go through life with maimed hearts, incapable, it may be, of feeling the sorrows of passion, but likewise unable to experience its joys. To the healthy pagan mind they appear like the Adam and Eve who would have remained in their colourless Eden because they had no curiosity for the knowledge of good and evil.

IV.—The greater affectability of woman, being the primary quality of her emotional nature, is not without its effect on her intellectual characteristics. It used to be the fashion to look upon the mind as quite superior to the body and its feelings, as an entity which controlled and judged the sensations as a despot governs his subjects. But nothing could be further from the truth. The brain is bound up with the nervous system, which is the mechanism of feeling; and its thoughts are therefore bound up with the emotions to which the body gives rise. "We have been apt to regard it," says Havelock Ellis, "as the despotic ruler of the body, whereas, so far as it is a ruler at all, it is a strictly democratic ruler. The brain elements, for the most part, are but sensori-motor delegates brought together for the sake of executive convenience."

This makes it clear that the brain is not the only thing to be considered in discussing intellectual characteristics. The whole nervous system must be investigated, the brain being merely its most highly evolved part. This fact was not observed by many investigators in the past. They made valiant attempts to prove the intellectual superiority of man by measuring his brain in comparison with that of woman; but their efforts resulted merely in chaos. Only

a person with preconceived ideas can sift any result out of their muddled and contradictory measurements; and many such persons have done it. But their theories are made to fit their prejudices, and are therefore scientifically useless. We are on much safer ground when we take the whole nervous equipment of man and compare it with that of woman. Here we see that the larger emotional development of woman is again the primary difference. It can be traced in all the intellectual work of women, and is the secret of all those mental differences manifest between the sexes.

From the relation of the brain to the general sensitive nervous system, it is plain that every thought must be more or less tinged with feeling. Purely abstract, unemotional thought is a thing which philosophers imagine but never realise. Therefore we may expect woman's thought in general to be more deeply emotional than man's, and to be more concerned with emotional interests. She has greater difficulty in reaching beyond the circle of immediate feeling, of standing outside her sensations and viewing them in an impersonal light. She is more absorbed in her emotions, for they mean more to her; her ambitions, her fears, are more closely bound up with them, since their satisfaction appears to her of more pressing importance. In short, her head lies closer to her heart; and she is most at home within the range of her immediate sensations, of the actual experiences of the moment.

The outcome of these peculiarities is that her thought tends towards personal, concrete things, which can be easily translated into terms of emotion. In her mode of thinking she is nearer the child and the savage, just as her nervous system is more akin to theirs. Both the child and the savage have difficulty in escaping from the crowd of sense-

impressions that invade their minds; they are to some extent unable to rise above it and see, as from a height, how these sense impressions are related to each other and how their relations constitute general principles applicable to particular cases.

That is a higher form of thought, demanding a power of abstraction, of generalisation, which the savage and the child have hardly at all, and woman not so much as man.

In its highest form, this thought produces philosophies, wherein abstraction and generalisation are carried to their loftiest pitch. It is significant, and by no means to be explained as altogether a result of woman's subjection, that the great philosophers are all men. Constance Naden is generally acknowledged to be the greatest woman philosopher, but she never attained, nor yet gave sure promise of attaining, the front rank. Moreover, woman in their philosophical studies seem attracted to the least abstract of the thinkers; it is as if the higher abstract thought did not appeal to them or touch their understanding. In science the same thing holds good. Women astronomers, for instance, have after a short period of training, shown themselves to be most painstaking and capable observers; but their contributions to theory have been comparatively negligible. They are more at home with the facts than with the principles. In literature they have done little except as writers of fiction, which, being mainly a study of emotions in concrete cases, is to a great extent in their immediate sphere. But the fiction which embodies a great principle of life is not theirs; if their novels have a purpose, it is usually an emotional, sometimes a hysterical, one. Their art is generally sentimental and imitative; in music they are great as exponents, not as composers.

This is a significant case. Music is the most emotional

of the arts, not excepting the histrionic art; and it is here if anywhere that we should expect woman to prove her real capacity. But all the masters of composition are men; and the secret of the feminine failure lies in the fact that creative work requires, in its higher aspects, a power of abstraction, of aloofness from the clamour of actual sensations, which women do not possess in the same degree as men. They are also, because of their affectability, more susceptible to the impressions conveyed by others, and therefore more imitative. Their compositions consequently lack the originality and depth which are the hall-mark of good creative work. Singing and playing, being the realisation of suggested emotions, are much more suited to their temperament; and their success therein is correspondingly greater.

But the best illustration of all lies in dramatic art. When we consider the comparative suddenness with which women reached the top-most rung of the ladder of dramatic fame, in the face of social ostracism and with little external encouragement of any kind, we understand that their brilliant success was due mainly to their inherent fitness to win it. It is no mere paradox to say that the greatest actors are women, for no great actor holds the same place in the traditions of public admiration as a woman like Mrs. Siddons.

This is a good argument in reply to the opinion, freely expressed in some quarters, that women only want opportunity and a few generations of education to reach the intellectual level of men. For women's conspicuous successes have been in music and the drama—both emotional arts, the latter dealing with actual men and women and with the interplay of their personal feelings. There is no evidence of exceptional opportunities for the study of these

arts by the sex, particularly in the case of acting; and there is everything to show that women found their *métier* therein and not the *métier* women. At any rate, it is hardly without a real sexual significance that the greatest actresses are women and the greatest dramatists men.

In the light of the intellectual record of women we seem bound to conclude that the two sexes are on a different level, and that it is mere wilful blindness to assert, as Mrs. Sarah Grand does, that it is just a case of six of the one and half a dozen of the other. The human organism being a complicated whole whose parts react upon each other, and the sexes being distinguished by radical differences, it is practically inevitable that their mental products should differ. And if we accept a certain standard by which to measure intellectual work, we must expect the work of the sexes to be unequal in relation to it: that is, that man's work or woman's must be of a higher class.

The standard hitherto accepted is that afforded by the loftiest mental products of man, the philosophical principles which have been reached by a long process of abstraction and generalisation. It is found that as man's brain develops, so its power of abstract and generalised thought increases; the highest thought is naturally that in which this power is most highly developed. Judged by this purely intellectual standard, woman is inferior to man. She is so by reason of her greater affectability, which brings her emotional life into greater prominence than in man, making her world one of feeling and immediate aims, and hindering her from attaining that detachment from self and the surrounding world which is essential to the highest thinking.

So long, indeed, as woman is woman, with her peculiar sexual capacities, so long will this inferiority exist and so

long will failure attend all attempts of man-aspiring females to compensate for it. Nevertheless, however convinced one may be of the reality of the fact, it would be narrow-minded and irrational to make it a counsel of despair for womankind. It must not be forgotten that the standard here accepted is a purely intellectual one, and that, moreover, purely intellectual labour is only one branch of human activity. If we have any mission on earth, it is far more likely to be the development of character than the development of mere mental capacity. A man's brain is not the man himself; he is the sum of his physical, emotional, and intellectual capabilities—what, in fact, modern science sometimes calls the “soul.” We may assume the destiny of man, ideally, to be to carry this “soul” to its highest pitch of power, where its faculties will have full exercise and develop increasing intensity.

From this broad point of view, the inferiority of woman ceases to be so conspicuous and may indeed be said to almost vanish. It is difficult to say that the soul of woman is any less noble or valuable for human good than that of man. It certainly has different qualities, and different fields for the exercise of these qualities; but these differences do not work out to the practical result that woman is a lesser being than man. Beauty of character is a possession which is to a great extent independent of sex; and moreover it has long been the fashion for man to look to woman for examples of perfection in such excellent virtues as purity, devotion, generosity, and self-sacrifice.

Therefore he would indeed be a bold champion of male superiority who would argue the inferiority of woman, from this all-round view, as a natural fact. From time immemorial woman has played a part in the evolution of mankind hardly second, in the importance of its results,

to the part played by her male counterpart. It is a case of natural division of labour, where the association is nevertheless so close that it is difficult to apportion the honours in a fair and equable manner. But if we abandon the purely intellectual gauge and look at the matter in the light of the progress of mankind, we find enough in the achievements of women to make it easy to be chivalrous while still adhering to the facts of history and science.

V.—It may perhaps be argued, and with some reason, that woman's subordinate position in home and society has prevented her employing her powers to their proper degree, and has thus stunted her soul-growth and forced her to a real inferiority. But woman's faculties, being more emotional than intellectual, are by nature fitted to find plenty of scope within a restricted field. The home, the small social circle, is often large enough for her. Men's weaknesses, too, are women's opportunities; and if a woman desires a wider influence, she can usually command the services of a man who has it.

Nevertheless, the thousand conventions that fetter the activities of both men and women generally hang more heavily on the latter; and there are additional conventions which affect the weaker sex alone. All these are bound to handicap woman in the fulfilment of her mission; they oppose, at the very start, every attempt on her part at independent thought and action. Thanks to various social and intellectual influences, these conventions are slowly losing their rigidity, particularly in the large centres of industry. Woman has begun in real earnest a career of independent work which can only end in her freeing herself ultimately from the economic dependence on man which has been her characteristic hindrance in the past. Then, at least, she

will have an opportunity of showing whether she may stand, free and untrammelled, the acknowledged equal of her mate.

It is quite possible that some people, anxious for the intellectual advance of women, and despairing of seeing it accomplished by women *qua* women, hope that the probable "third sex" will succeed where the normal woman has failed. They hope to see these unsexed women develop an intellectual fertility which will be a compensation for their physical barrenness. Perhaps they may; but even then their thought cannot be of the masculine quality, inasmuch as they are not themselves of the masculine gender. Virility is a masculine characteristic which is bound up with male sexual vigour; it is not merely femininity deprived of its feminine weaknesses. Therefore the new sex is likely to be a thing apart from both male and female—a sexual pariah, in fact, not to be placed in the same category as either of the normal sexes. Its attainments cannot serve to bolster up the reputation of woman, for it has ceased to be woman. And it would be paying a very questionable compliment to woman to demand the sacrifice of her womanhood in order that she might perchance attain to the mental heights that are barren of many of the comforts and consolations enjoyed by those who are content with less ambitious altitudes.

One of the most practical illustrations of sexual differences between men and women is afforded by a historical survey of the industries of the latter. In primitive times, women generally confined their energies to the more passive labours of agriculture, and the various duties of the house, while the men hunted and made war. This passivity of woman's labour is an expression of her anabolic constitution. Women were the first potters and architects, but

both these industries have been brought to their artistic excellence by man, not by woman. The decorative impulse, with its qualities of initiative and exuberance, seems more masculine than feminine; and in all times man's work has been more original, more creative.

This difference seems, again, to be organic, for we find its effect to-day in the forms of labour adopted by women. Their chief feature in their industry is its *routine* character, the necessity for individual enterprise and foresight being reduced to a minimum. As clerks, typewriters, seamstresses, housekeepers, and at the lighter forms of factory and farm work, women have shown their capabilities so clearly that they have become a most important factor in social economic life. In such forms of work, automatic performance of set duties is everything, and intellectual initiative little or nothing.

But even in these industries which women themselves have chosen as most fitting, they do not compare favourably with men. They are paid less, for employers are unanimous in the opinion that the standard of their work is lower. In a pamphlet on "Labour Laws for Women," published on behalf of the Independent Labour Party, an attempt is made to throw the burden of this difference in standard upon the fact that women, having always more than half an eye to marriage, do not take their vocation seriously enough, nor work at it with the energy and persistence which the struggle for existence calls for in a man. This may be a real cause, but it is only a secondary one, since women do not achieve the standard of men even when they, to all appearances, throw their heart and soul into their work. The primary difference is certainly organic. Woman is not only physically weaker (besides being a partial invalid during the menstrual crisis); she is not so

liberally supplied with those qualities of resource, independence, and enterprise which give the valuable character to the products of men's minds and hands.

Much will probably be done by labour legislation to remove the injustices in the remuneration of women's industries; there will be less oppression, less ill-paid drudgery. But the standard is never likely to rise to that of the stronger sex, since the value of woman's work is always likely to be inferior (especially in the higher and more exacting industries) to that of man. Even in spite of these drawbacks, women would have improved their economic position vastly if they had adopted trade union tactics to the same extent as men. But this is precisely what they have failed to do; and the fact is very significant. From the pamphlet already quoted, we learn that in 1898 only 116,016 out of 1,508,406 women factory workers belong to trade unions. "Nor," continues the writer, "does their number show any regular tendency to increase; indeed, ever since the days of the 'Grand Lodge of Operative Bonnet Makers,' and other high-sounding unions which in 1832 numbered their female members by tens of thousands, women unionists have been the despair of their secretaries, owing to the erratic way in which they will join by hundreds and thousands when some strike or special excitement is on, and drop all interest and support as soon as work resumes its ordinary level." It would be difficult to find a more practical and eloquent testimony to the characteristic affectability of women.

The discussion of the whole question, while leaving much vague and undecided, points clearly to the fact that the sexes are divided by important physical differences, mainly connected with the peculiar sexual organisation and functions of woman. These differences impress themselves

upon the physical, emotional, and intellectual capabilities of the sexes; the mechanisms being different, the products thereof are inevitably different.

The growing freedom of women may tend to level up the gulf which divides them from the male sex, but the gulf will always exist in some form or another until male ceases to be male and female female. Such a consummation may enter into the dreams of an ultra-evolutionary prophet, but never into the hopes of a common-sense human being. For, as a matter of plain evidence, a vast amount of the interest and fascination of life depends upon the contrasts and inequalities which differentiate the sexes.

PART II.

THE SEX LIFE.

PART II.

THE SEX LIFE.

INTRODUCTION.

The practical nature of the sex question—Sexual dogmatism—The scientific ideal of the sex life—The various solutions to be compared with that ideal.

So far we have been concerned mainly with the facts and theories which form the groundwork of a science of sex; the practical questions, those involving the moral aspects of sex, have been met with only incidentally. But the sex question is for the majority of us an entirely practical affair, and every addition to our theoretical knowledge is useful only in so far as it throws new light upon the value, for good or evil, of certain actual modes of realising the sexual life.

There is no escape from the problem for any of us; we must solve it one way or another, according to ignorance, prejudice, instinct, or cultivated reason. Primitive man, whose knowledge of himself was exceedingly limited, solved it in a very *a priori* fashion and on the basis of instinct. Barbarous peoples seem to have been led by a combination of ignorance, instinct, and the prejudices arising from customs enforced by law and public opinion. It remains for civilised man to discard all guides save that

of a rational understanding of his own nature and of the factors, physical, psychological, and social, involved in the phenomenon of sex. He has done so in part already, for he is neither so ignorant, so hide-bound by custom, nor so much a slave to instinct as were his barbaric forefathers. But no one who is aware of the state of public opinion on the sex question will deny that even civilised man cannot claim to be guided entirely by cultivated reason in his attitude towards this problem of problems. So immense, indeed, is the mass of ignorant prejudice on such matters as marriage, celibacy, sexual inversion, and so on, that even the most sanguine spirit may well despair of its being removed within a reasonable number of generations.

Nevertheless, the progress of rational thought is not likely to be altogether stopped by even so stolid an obstruction. Within the last few decades there has been a decay of religious prejudice more rapid than anybody could have reasonably expected in the earlier part of the century; and although dogma is even more powerful in matters of sex than in religion, sexual dogmatism also is bound to yield in time. And the main weapon of conquest will be the same in both cases:—the advance of scientific knowledge. No amount of direct biblical criticism effected so much for free thought in religion as the indirect opposition of new scientific theories; and in the sex problem likewise, no amount of eloquent exhortation or denunciation will effect so much for advance in thought and action as the realisation of a few fundamental and relevant facts. It is the business of the science of sex to elucidate these facts and to show their practical bearings on conduct and morals. Therefore, having laid at least a working foundation in physical and psychological fact, it remains to examine the various solutions of the sex question in the light of that

knowledge and to indicate the solution or solutions which accord best with the scientific ideal.

What that ideal is may be stated in a few words. Sex is, in the eye of science, a natural faculty which man may employ for the benefit or the detriment of himself and others; he uses it in an ideal fashion when he obtains from it the greatest physical, moral, and intellectual well-being, while contributing as much as possible of a similar happiness to others, from the same source. This is a very broad and apparently vague ideal, but it may be used as a touchstone for the value of every kind of sexual life, of every attempted or proposed solution of the problem.

In the succeeding chapters, its direct application to the various existing modes of sex-life will be shown. It is an ideal which, once accepted, must be made to transcend all other ideals, religious ones included. For it alone opens the door wide to naked and inconvenient truths; it alone is built frankly and fearlessly on the real. It will not, therefore, be a matter for surprise if everyone of our existing sexual institutions is found wanting when measured by its standard.

In opening the discussion with a consideration of marriage in its historical and present aspects, we are beginning with that solution of the sex problem which has received the sanction of public approval and the blessing of ecclesiastical and legal authorisation. For marriage, in its various forms, is simply a name for a more or less durable sexual association recognised by law and custom as fit and proper. It differs in different countries and under different religions, but it is always the legitimate *status quo*. It is therefore that solution of the sex problem which one might expect to come nearest to a rational one and satisfy to the greatest extent the scientific ideal herein formulated.

CHAPTER I.

MARRIAGE.

- I.—The sanctity of marriage—Marriage a superstition—Marriage and its miseries—The evolution of marriage.
- II.—The definition of marriage—Marriage customs in animals—In the apes—Polygamous apes and monogamous apes—Love of offspring—Animal societies maternal in character—Monogamous animals not superior to polygamous.
- III.—Marriage in primitive human societies—Primitive sexual promiscuity a fallacy—How the fallacy arose—Polygamy in savage man—Its outcome in the subjection of women—Monogamy in man—Its evolution from polygamy—Monogamy an imposition—Modern conditions a compromise between polygamous instincts and monogamous customs—Futility of suggested cures for sexual evils.
- IV.—Monogamy the ideal union—The duality of man—Monogamy and inheritance—Monogamy essentially independent of religious and legal sanctions—Rigidity of marriage laws due to priestly influence.
- V.—The economic factor in marriage—Dependence of women—Is the marriage bargain fair?—The freedom of wives—The influence of children on marital life—Moral and immoral marriages—Why marriage is a failure.

I.—Marriage is one of those institutions which the majority of people regard as superior to the laws of change which affect the generality of human affairs. Whether or not they are prepared to accept it as a “divine” institution, they look upon it in its present form as the pattern towards which all sexual associations must tend if they

are to become permanent and worthy additions to our social customs. They therefore accept it as an institution for which justification is quite superfluous; they look upon any attempted modification of it with considerable misgiving. They are even prepared to sacrifice to it a considerable amount of the human happiness it is supposed to ensure. So long as the principle is maintained, any individual cases of hardship or misery resulting from its application do not count for much.

There have been cases, indeed, in which the respect for the marriage bond is about the only real social sentiment left to a man. However depraved he may be, even in his actual sexual life, the institution of marriage has for him a saving grace which nothing else in heaven or earth possesses. The spectacle of a *roué* ending a career of debauchery by a marriage which is supposed to blot out and atone for the past, is not an uncommon one. And it is well-known that society would rather have hate and indifference under marriage than the noblest and most self-sacrificing love without the sanction of the all-important ceremony.

It is thus apparent that marriage is, generally speaking, a superstition, a fetich. It may well be argued that it is good it should be so, that the wayward instincts of human beings should be restrained by a devotion (even an unintelligent devotion) to an institution which binds father and mother together in the interests of offspring. But it is nevertheless undeniable, by those who read society closely, that this superstitious adherence to a bind-fast institution in all times and places and under all circumstances, is productive of much unhappiness in those numerous exceptional cases which are bound to arise in so varied a society as the civilised world of the present day. One cannot fit all

human beings to the same mould, or expect their careers to be equally successful under so iron-handed a regime as the modern laws of marriage impose.

To enforce that regime at all costs is to display an ignorance of the real origin and meaning of marriage. It is not, in its present or any other form, a god-given solution to the sex problem, a fixed ideal for which the transient realities of life should be willingly foregone. It is itself a reality which has grown with human society itself, taking its origin in the social and individual needs of primitive man and changing its form and its purpose as the human race passed from savagery to barbarism and thence to civilisation. Marriage has, in fact, continued to exist as a valid institution because it changed with the changing conditions of human society, keeping in touch, though often imperfectly, with the altered requirements of clan, tribe, and nation. Human society is still advancing, in spite of all the conservative influences at work; and to imagine that marriage will remain rigid and fixed during this continual change is as absurd as to imagine that the Roman Catholic Church of the middle ages will continue for ever to satisfy the spiritual needs of mankind. Marriage has evolved, as all social institutions have evolved; and unless it is now to undergo retrogression, it will continue to keep pace with the evolution of the social life.

What the direction of that future evolution is likely to be can only be guessed from a study of its direction in the past; and it is therefore essential to our study of the practical aspects of this solution of the problem that we should review, in at least a general way, the origin and development of marriage.

II.—This is not so simple a matter as might appear at first sight. Marriage is never quite the same thing in two

different countries at the present day; and in the early stages of its history, when human societies were, so to speak, in the melting-pot, it was undefined and chaotic to a degree. In fact, it is by no means easy to give a definition of marriage which will include all the various modes of sexual association which are generally covered by the term. These modes have been so numerous that we are almost forced to give a very general definition such as that of M. Letourneau, that marriage is an institution whose object is the regulation of sexual unions.

If we accept this definition, we must admit that the origin of marriage is not to be found in the human race, but much lower down the scale of evolution. Animal societies are certainly not without their regulating customs in sexual affairs; and although these are asserted to be matters of mere instinct, they are none the less social institutions. In many cases, indeed, they are superior in quality to the customs of man, who does not always emulate his brute ancestors with success. The study of these animal forms of marriage indicates the probable nature of sexual association among the earliest human societies, since the first man could not have been very much different in needs and habits from his ape-like ancestors.

We may confine our attention to these near forerunners of humanity, passing over the instances of sexual association in other species, ranging from the grossest form of temporary union for the purpose of coupling alone, to the cases of life-long monogamy presented by some species of birds. These instances are interesting in themselves, but our immediate purpose is to ascertain the nature of sexual association in primitive human societies.

In the anthropoid apes, the prototypes of humanity, we do not find any single regime in force; these apes are some-

times polygamous and sometimes monogamous. When polygamous, they usually form small bands with a male as chief. He rules as long as he is vigorous enough to enforce the right that is of might; when age or weakness overtakes him, the younger members of the little community rebel and overthrow his authority. Although he rules by superior physical strength, his mates generally display a considerable amount of brute affection towards him; and jealousy seems to disturb the community only when the lord and master is envious of the lavish affection bestowed by females on their offspring. In cases where monogamy is the rule, the lasting affection displayed between husband and wife is quite exemplary, although it does not reach the high pitch attained by the Illinois parrot, to whom widowhood means death.

Under both regimes, three things are clear and important. In the first place, these unions are the result of such real qualities of sexual affection as animals possess; they are an immense advance upon the promiscuous coupling, followed by callous separation, which obtains in some animal species and is indeed assumed by the popular mind to be characteristic of animal unions. These animals exercise a personal preference in their choice of mates, and reproduction involves for them a considerable amount of strong and durable feeling.

In the second place, the love of offspring seems to be limited in most cases to the female. This is a natural result of the process of reproduction, since the necessary duty of the father ceases at coition, and that of the mother is prolonged through the periods of gestation and suckling, and even beyond them to the time when the young is sufficiently mature to fend for itself. It follows from this that animal societies are maternal in character, the males

playing the parts of chiefs and protectors. This is very much the state of things presented by primitive human societies, which are only one step removed from what we call the animal condition.

In the third place, the facts do not seem to support the theory that monogamous animals are superior in intelligence to polygamous or even promiscuous animals. We are naturally inclined to think that they are so, for monogamy is to us the loftiest form of sexual association, the token of moral and intellectual superiority. But monogamous monkeys do not show any marked superiority to those habituated to polygamy; and a wide survey of the animal kingdom shows that it is impossible to establish any marked connection between monogamy and superior intelligence. Ants and bees are amongst the most intelligent of animals, and their sexual customs are as far removed from monogamy as could well be imagined. The model parrot of Illinois has no particular reputation for wisdom; and in all cases, indeed, the sexual customs adopted by a species seem to be the outcome not so much of their particular grade of intelligence, as of the particular habits enforced by the nature of their environment. Animals are monogamous, polygamous, or promiscuous just as suits their position in the struggle for existence. The superstitious admiration for monogamy is therefore not justified as regards the animal world—a fact which is important for our purpose, inasmuch as it prepares the way for the acceptance of a similar fact as regards human beings themselves.

III.—Judging solely from the habits of animals nearest in development to man, we should expect marriage in the most primitive societies to be either polygamous or mono-

gamous, and to be characterised by the lordship of the male and the limitation of parental affection to the female. So far as can be ascertained, this was actually the case. We have, of course, no record of the condition of man in his earliest stages; such primitive societies as we know have advanced to a certain extent and are no better guides than the species nearest to, but below, the original man.

But, in a general way, these conclusions cannot be disputed. It is at least thoroughly clear that primitive human societies were not, as many people still believe, based on prevailing promiscuity in sexual relationships. In the lowest known human societies, and in the highest animal species, promiscuous union was the exception and not the rule.

In spite of these facts, it is easy to see how the belief in early human promiscuity arose. It is a natural inference from the present condition of things in civilised societies. Observers note certain tendencies, as in prostitution, to promiscuity; and these tendencies being to them animal and base, it seems only common sense to infer that the original man had these tendencies in full swing, unchecked by those civilising influences which lead men from loose relations to the close bonds of marital affection. But this reasoning, though so clear and direct, has the misfortune to be opposed by the facts of the case. The consideration of man's nervous system alone might be sufficient, without the facts already noted, to oppose it. Man, with his highly developed emotional capacity, is not likely to be satisfied by the superficial exercise of his deepest and most powerful feelings. In short, it is a manifest libel on our original ancestors to impute to them a habitual grossness, greater than that of the ape and quite beneath the affectional capabilities of his organisation.

This fundamental fallacy of the promiscuity of primitive man is further exposed when we come to consider the actual sexual customs of savage societies. There the general tendency seems to be towards polygamy, not so much from an inherent polygamous bias in man, as from the necessary conditions of savage life. It is obvious that polygamy cannot be general in a community unless the number of women considerably exceeds that of the men; and it is almost equally obvious that if, for one or more reasons, the women do happen to be more numerous than the men, polygamy is morally certain to result. In primitive societies there are no celibates.

Now, the conditions of savage life are certainly those which would produce a preponderance of women, since the men, being the fighters and hunters, are exposed to far greater risks of death than the domesticated women. In addition to this we have a larger percentage of female births, due to unascertained natural causes. From these two causes we expect females to be in the majority, and polygamy therefore to be inevitable. So, whether man originally started with polygamous instincts or not, he was almost bound to acquire them during the generations of savage life.

The effect of this polygamous regime was to emphasise a natural inclination in man to the subjection of women. There is no debating that in these early days might was wholly right, and what the strong arm willed was done. Woman, being by nature the weaker vessel, and being useful to man as a worker and for the satisfaction of imperious instincts, became less of a mate than a possession; and each man sought to have as many women as his valour would enable him to have and to hold. In many savage and barbarous communities a man's power and prestige are

measured by the number of his wives; in ancient literature wives are not always clearly distinguished from cattle and other goods. Inevitably, therefore, woman becomes practically a slave, with ample duties but few rights; and the fact of being possessed in numbers degrades her still more.

Under the monogamic system, the relationship between man and wife is more equal, and the woman has more opportunity of using those arts of subterfuge and diplomacy by which she gains her sway. But when wives are captured and bought, sometimes wholesale, there is less chance than ever of the equality of women becoming a reality or even a theory. Only monogamy, in fact, could make that possible; and our next concern is to trace the evolution of polygamy into monogamy.

This evolution seems to have been accomplished by a variety of means. First and foremost is the circumstance that with a growing security of life, the number of men became more nearly equal to that of the women, and wives were therefore more difficult to obtain. Poor people would then have to be content with one, which was as much as they could acquire and maintain. Plurality of wives thus became the privilege of the rich and great; that is, of the few.

As time went on, therefore, the majority of men would become monogamous through necessity; and, the necessity gradually establishing a custom, monogamy would become the general rule of society and the right and proper thing. Chiefs and others who possessed a large number of wives would be envied and consequently hated, with the result that polygamy would be more than ever regarded as anti-social and immoral. The trend of public opinion would be in favour of monogamy, however imperfectly that system was realised in practice. Added to this cause there

is the fact that the growing tendency to hand down property to offspring would encourage monogamy, which is the only system which secures the proper inheritance, whether descent be traced from the father or the mother. Further, we may add to this the fact that there is undoubtedly a natural inclination in man, as his mind develops and his interests widen, to appreciate the value and beauty of exclusive companionship with one woman—though it would be foolish, of course, to attach more than a minor influence to this psychological factor, in the earlier stages of human development.

Somewhat after this manner, monogamy seems to have been imposed upon a people originally practising polygamy. It seems to have been truly an imposition, for the facts show only too clearly that man has not, even in most civilised societies, taken kindly to the exclusive dual relationship.

This is an important point, for it indicates the present meaning of such social curses as prostitution and concubinage. They are simply compromises between the polygamous instincts of man and the social necessity of a monogamous regime. No one with a clear eye on the present condition of the civilised world, no one acquainted with the extent to which polygamy flourished for generations and generations in the earlier history of mankind, will deny that man in general is polygamous by nature. A polygamous bias is part of his inheritance from his savage and barbaric ancestors; an inheritance he has not yet been able to abandon. His present situation is the result of the struggle between his inclination to have a number of mates, and the force of public opinion, now become the force of moral law, urging him to cleave with both body and soul to one woman. In barbaric societies, a compromise is

openly made; one woman in the harem becomes the only legal wife and the remainder are concubines; or prostitution is resorted to without concealment or particular sense of shame. In modern civilised societies, a compromise is also made in a very large number of cases. Concubinage (on a limited scale) and prostitution are again the palliatives, but here they are studiously concealed and are never acknowledged as anything better than necessary evils.

Prostitution and concubinage are admittedly the two greatest sexual evils of the present day, and for their existence we have to thank our polygamous ancestors. What was bred in the bone for so many generations is bound to come out in the flesh of the present; for not even the best of us is altogether a creature of reason and has the will power and the moral conviction necessary to crush a strong instinct in the interests of morality. Lust will out, to the confusion of principle and the detriment of the social health.

Hence it is utopian folly to expect an immediate panacea for our sexual ills; no mere reform of the marriage laws, no preaching of fads, from celibacy to free love, will avail to reform society in this or the next generation. Time and the leaven of evolution have brought us to our present state, with instinct and moral principle at war; time and the leaven of evolution can alone carry us forward to that condition when instinct will have been educated to the level of moral principle. We are creatures of the past and we cannot foreswear our descent however much we try; at best we can only hope to develop our inheritance one step nearer to the distant end in view. If humanity moves fast, it stumbles; and moral progress is the slowest of all. Therefore we must bear our social ills, and particularly those pertaining to sex, with resignation yet awhile, con-

tent if even one halting step is made by each generation in the right direction. To many sanguine minds, impatient of the inertia of mankind, this may seem to be mere pessimism; but it is unquestionably the pessimism of fact.

IV.—So far it has been assumed that monogamy is the ideal form towards which all moral progress in sex must tend. The orthodox reader, taking monogamy to mean our present marriage system, will admit the assumption without discussion; but from the scientific point of view it is necessary to give it some support, as well as to free it from connection with any particular system of legal marriage. Monogamy simply means the more or less permanent sexual union of two people, exclusive of all other partners; that is its essence, though it has now a number of legal and religious associations. It may exist with or without the sanction of law or church, which are indeed external to it and later in origin.

That it is the most beneficial form of sexual union is not difficult to demonstrate. The whole trend of human evolution is towards an exclusive dual relationship, however far we may be from realising it in actual practice. The world seems to have tried almost every other conceivable form of union—polyandry, promiscuity, communal marriage, polygamy, and so on—and although by a mere majority it seems to have decided in favour of polygamy, yet the minority which leads and which will give its character to the majority of to-morrow, has concluded in favour of the dual system.

And the reason is not far to seek. Man is essentially a dual animal. We have seen, when tracing the evolution of sex, how the two sexes were developed so that each forms the complement of the other, balancing its deficiencies

and its superfluities and forming with it a complete and rounded whole. This duality is thus a fundamental fact; and it is likely, nay certain, to become of greater and greater importance as both sexes develop under the influence of the progress of civilisation. For inasmuch as evolution proceeds on divergent lines (the evolution of the sexes included) the probability is that man and woman will become less and not more alike as time goes on and as both develop their particular qualities to a higher and higher degree. And as the divergence increases, so will the need and desire for union, for the fulfilment of self in intimacy with a naturally complementary being. This union and this fulfilment are impossible if more than two individuals are concerned, since the third individual is bound to disturb the harmony of the reciprocal action between two naturally dual personalities.

Although this is stating the case in very general language, it is nevertheless adhering to fact; and it is plain that both the innate character of man and the course of his evolution point to the dual union as the only one which can wholly satisfy the wants, emotional and intellectual, of the human organism.

Another important factor in the progress of monogamy has already been indicated—that it alone secures a working system of inheritance. Property being in possession of the father, it is natural that he should wish it to be transferred to his sons. Under monogamy, the succession would be most simply determined; under polygamy, the succession would naturally fall to the offspring of the favourite wife—a condition of things which is a sort of half-way house to the monogamous arrangement. If we add to this the rough equality in the numbers of the two sexes, and the inability of the ordinary man to support more than one

wife, we see that many different causes—physical, psychological, social, and economic—converge to make monogamy the recognised system of marriage in the most advanced societies.

The influence of religion and legal sanctions in encouraging monogamy has been so far purposely neglected. Not because that influence has not been considerable; for the power of religion and of law in enforcing social customs has been great from the day that religion and law came into existence. Their effect has been ignored hitherto, because it is a matter of the first importance to show that monogamy could have developed independently of religion and law. The average man appears to think that monogamy is really a creation of the law and the prophets, that if priests and magistrates were suddenly to vanish and their teachings and enactments to become immediately forgotten and annulled, monogamy would give place rapidly to promiscuity and all manner of licence. But monogamy, not having required the aid of religion and law in its evolution, does not need it now to keep it in active existence.

Certainly both law and religion buttress it at the present day, as they with equal certainty did in the past. Nevertheless, in both cases it finds its basis, as do law and religion themselves, in the needs and customs of mankind. Evolution clearly indicates that these would enable monogamy to survive, without the sanctions of church or state. There would not in all probability be any serious lapse, for the chief enemy of the legitimate system is the polygamous tendency inherent in man; and to that are opposed, as we have seen, various powerful social influences which do not rest upon the enforcements of either the priest or the lawyer.

The practical conclusions from this independent character

of monogamy will be discussed in the concluding chapter; meanwhile we must recognise that our monogamous system of marriage has been so completely adopted by church and state that it is permeated with religious notions and forced into rigid moulds by legal enactments. Most of the latter deal with such external matters as conditions of inheritance, legality of ceremonies, and so on; the remainder, where they touch upon the moral aspect of marriage, have been modelled upon the principles of the national religion. The church has indeed regulated marriage with such a strong hand, that the institution still appeals to the majority of people in a religious light. The bulk of our present marriage laws, particularly those pertaining to divorce and illegitimacy, bear the unmistakeable stamp of priestly influence; and every advance that has been made towards more liberal ideas on the subject has been made in direct opposition to the whole body of clerical opinion.

The church, with its whilom handmaid, the law, is therefore a powerful restraining influence on the evolution of sexual customs. It has given its sanction to indissoluble unions as a sacrament, as the one holy and true marriage. There it stops, and earnestly desires the world as well to stop; but the world, which often seems to move in spite of itself, has modified that indissolubility in various ways, to which the divorce and separation laws give witness.

V.—There is a still more important factor at work to preserve the rigid indissolubility of a marriage once contracted. It is a factor which has been at work all through the evolution of marriage—the economic factor. Where women are not accustomed to earn their own living, matrimony affords them their only career. With no ability to maintain themselves in the struggle for existence, they are

dependent upon the other sex for material support; and they are consequently ready to accept the marriage contract in its present form as a perfectly fair and even advantageous bargain. In return for the performance of wifely and domestic duties, they are given home, money, social security and position—all, in fact, that a man has to win by years of labour.

Nothing, it seems, could be more reasonable. The sacrifice, if any, is on the part of the man, who is the initiator of the bargain and has his eyes open to its conditions. But in its result it is inimical to the interests of the woman, and precisely because it gives her so much. The more she gets from it, the more dependent she is upon it and the greater her sacrifice in the event of the bargain being dissolved. The simple dissolution of marriage involves no sensible material loss to a man; in the case of a woman it takes away her life support, and, in granting her freedom, deprives her of the means of enjoying it.

Thus we not only frequently see a woman marrying for sustenance and a home, but we see her clinging to the marriage bond as the sole guarantee of these, long after the bond has ceased to be pleasant or even humanly tolerable. If women were on an economic equality with men, many of them would at once sever a connection which has ceased to be anything but a burden and misery to them. But, as things are, the spectre of helplessness and destitution mocks at their dreams of freedom and holds them fast to a bond which has lost all its happiness, all its moral and beneficent qualities, in their eyes.

Acting in conjunction with this restraining influence of economic dependence, there is the deeply-rooted reluctance to destroy the completeness of the home, which is regarded as the centre of everything that is best and most stable in

our social life. Of the many unions which survive the death of affection between husband and wife, perhaps as large a number do so through the parents' consideration for the children as by reason of the economic cause just considered. "For the sake of the children," is the fast-bind of many homes which would vanish did husband and wife follow their own inclinations.

This is a matter which will be considered in detail later ; at present it is necessary only to notice it as aiding in making marriage a permanent life-contract. It is the source of much of that strong social bias in favour of indissoluble monogamy which is so ably encouraged by religion and the law as to have become a cardinal principle of modern sexual morality.

Thus it would appear that just as the natural tendency of evolution is towards monogamy, so the weight of present day public opinion is in favour of a permanent dual union as the perfect realisation of sex. There can be little doubt that it is so, having regard to the dual nature of man as a sexual being, and to the nature and claims of the family. Nevertheless, there is a world of difference between cherishing this ideal and forcing it, by law, custom, and religious dogma, upon all and sundry. Where an indissoluble union is the outcome of mutual desire, spontaneously exercised, there is everything to be said for it ; where the mutual desire does not exist, but is replaced by external motives, there is much, indeed everything, to be said against it.

Marriage as it at present exists is the source of a vast amount of misery, a misery so familiar and so commonplace as to be the perpetual subject of cheap wit in the comic press and on the stage. And most of this misery can

be readily traced to a single cause—the binding together of a man and a woman who never cared for one another or who have ceased to do so. This is the source of the multitude of the tragedies, sordid, bitter, or heroic, of marriage. Social custom, the law of God and the law of man, have entered into a combination to perpetuate the failures of marriage, to maintain the outward semblance of a union which has become in actual essence meaningless, hateful, and degrading.

Apart from the individual misery so caused, and its reaction on the generation which the indissoluble bond is supposed to protect, the enforced continuance of an unsuccessful union is perhaps the most immoral thing which a civilised society ever countenanced, far less encouraged. The natural mainspring of the union of the sexes is mutual desire; and this desire, when fulfilled, is the immediate cause of well-being to the individuals concerned and the best possible promise of the well-being of their offspring. Hence the morality of a union is dependent upon this mutual desire, and a union dictated by any other causes is outside the moral pale, however custom may sanctify it or religion and law condone it.

These are the commonplaces of a sane and healthy morality; yet when we reflect on the number of marriage unions in which no reciprocal attraction exists, it is plain that these elementary canons of morality are violated in a fashion which shows that they are practically a dead letter. Until, therefore, our marriage system is placed upon the natural basis from which it sprang; until it is freed from the rigid bonds of social prejudice and moral superstition; until it is allowed to evolve as a natural accompaniment to the wants of men and women, it must be set down as a failure. It certainly contains the elements of success, for

it represents, in a much modified form, the monogamous regime towards which man has so long been tending. But it fails because it has no place for its failures, because it aims at a mechanical utopia which the diverse heart of man can never realise.

CHAPTER II.

CELIBACY.

- I.—Celibacy a negation of sexuality—The evolution of celibacy—Influence of religion—Ecclesiastical celibacy—How chastity became a virtue—Celibacy and the marriage bond—Economic factor in spread of celibacy.
- II.—Physical effects of celibacy—Celibacy a contradiction of scientific ideal—Exercise of sexual organs essential to complete health—Organic results of sexual suppression—The involuntary orgasm in relation to celibacy.
- III.—Emotional effects—Dependence of sex passion on its physical expression—Continence and nervous irritation—Futility of suggested cures for nervous results of sexual suppression—The emotional starvation of celibacy—Its effect on women.
- IV.—Intellectual effects—Renan *v.* Guyau—The celibate genius—Is he a safe guide for normal individuals?—Intellectual and genital energy—Sexual activity as an intellectual stimulus.
- V.—Educative value of complete sexual life—Sexual intercourse and mutual knowledge—The sex life an arena for exercise of moral qualities—Celibacy and self-restraint—The immorality of celibacy.

I.—One way of maintaining a spotless moral record is to flee from temptation; one way of solving the sexual problem is to consistently evade it. Celibacy is essentially the negation of sexuality, the elimination of all the physical and most of the moral and intellectual activities involved in the natural exercise of the sexual functions among civilised people. It is thus on a level with the

religious method of attaining perfection in this world by withdrawing from its affairs, and so escaping the source of sinful temptation. To avoid all the ills that flow from the sexual life, one has only to abandon that life and cease to give it a thought. The plan is in both cases the acme of simplicity and theoretically excellent. In practice it becomes complicated and is, from various causes to be hereafter discussed, bound to prove an almost entire failure.

We need not carry the religious parallel further; the history of monasticism is quite decisive and eloquent on the failure of the "flee-from-the-world" policy. Our concern is with the success or non-success of celibacy as a solution of the sexual problem. To that end it will be well to indicate how celibacy came to be adopted as a solution of that problem, and even cherished as an ideal of the sex life. It is plain that it was no light motive which induced men to suppress, as absolutely as they could, one of the deepest and most wide-reaching of their instincts.

As has already been remarked, there are no celibates in savage societies. There every man obeys the laws of his instincts, and puberty implies sexual activity almost as cause implies effect. It is only when we reach a stage of comparative civilisation that celibacy becomes anything like a social phenomenon. And in its early stages it is usually associated with religious notions which, being dualistic in character, place the spirit in opposition to the body and seek to subdue the body in the interests of its immortal counterpart.

With the growth of modesty and the development of ascetic religion, the sexual functions came to be regarded in an unfavourable light, and as indeed the main source of spiritual defilement. There is little doubt that love is the greatest of worldly distractions; and since the effort of

the priests is to induce a pre-occupation with an other-world religion, they naturally sought to discourage the claims of sex and to wean men and women from a material power so attractive and so compelling. The imposition of celibacy upon the priests of the Roman Church was a diplomatic move whose real aim was to secure their whole devotion to their calling. The church would, if it had been able, have imposed the same sacrifice upon all its members. But the bulk of people were not able to rise to heroic heights of self-denial; their imperative sex instinct was stronger than the anathemas of the church, even when its sway was most despotic.

So the church compromised by making marriage a sacrament, thus agreeing, under certain circumstances, to put its seal of holiness upon what it was pleased to regard as otherwise abominable and degrading. Though granting this to the weakness of human flesh (if not also in the interests of the next generation) it still held celibacy to be the one pure and noble condition of human life, and any violation of it, even in thought, to be a crimson sin. Chastity became in itself a virtue; and a premium was put on virginity higher than could ever have been dictated by purely moral considerations.

A glimpse of the intensity of the adoration with which chastity was regarded may be obtained by observing how unquestioningly it was assumed that the Son of God could be born only by a virgin. There was no doubt in the mind of the early believer on this point; even now, it is only the most liberal of Christian theologians who are content to give the physiological difficulties their due weight. It is still a cardinal point of faith that the pure woman is also chaste, that there is peculiar sanctity attaching to the virgin state, which, if once desecrated, can never

be recovered. The belief is held even by those who have ceased to adhere to any church; they do not always rid themselves of the superstitions of the creeds they formally abandon. In most cases, the ideal of chastity is a superstition, for there is little or no attempt made to justify it on rational grounds. It is the thing that ought to be, as the church and society have said for centuries; therefore it continues to be the type and pattern of perfection.

Nevertheless, this apparently hard and fast ideal has undergone some modification since the days when it held its strongest sway over the minds of men and women. The majority of people do not regard life-long celibacy as an ideal worth attaining; only the Roman Church continues to do so, and that mainly because it is, root and trunk, a conservative institution. Nature has re-asserted itself so far as to render marriage more of a duty to self and society than a refuge granted by religion to the weaknesses of the flesh.

Thus the marriage bond is held to sanctify what it merely condoned in former times; and there is not even a theoretical moral stain on those who have forsaken chastity for lawful wedlock. But, outside the marriage bond, the ideal is still as firmly upheld as ever. It is the duty, both social and religious, of the unmarried man or woman to remain chaste. Sexual intimacy must be to them an unknown region, and they enter it only on pain of a social ostracism which is, in the case of the woman at any rate, as bitter as the bitterest religious hatred.

It will be strenuously maintained, of course, that this enforcement of celibacy outside the marriage bond is dictated by social considerations and is independent of religious dogmas. In a sense it is; and in a sense it is not. There is no denying that in all sexual unions the future of

possible offspring should be carefully safeguarded; and to this end a legal contract between man and woman seems the most fitting thing. Where the legal contract has not been observed, and a child is brought into the world without any provision having been made for its support and education, society has a right to protest in its own name and condemn the parties implicated as defaulters.

But the due providing for the offspring is not society's only care. If it were, an unmarried couple have only to show themselves ready to perform the customary duties of parents, and all reasonable demands would be satisfied. As a matter of fact, when they do so, the ostracism to which they are subjected is not relaxed, and they are still regarded as outside the pale of respectability. What society demands, with all the insistence of a Shylock, is the marriage bond—the bond and nothing but the bond. When the ceremony is performed, its indignation vanishes; it feels that the outrage on moral law and order has been atoned.

Thus the insistence (theoretical at least) of society on chastity outside the marriage bond is due far less to its interest in social welfare than to its superstitious regard for the institution of marriage. This regard is strong enough to place the stain of abomination on every form of sexual intimacy save that of legal marriage. Therefore, according to the canons of social law, a man or woman has to choose between celibacy or matrimony—with the consequence that, in a world like the present, celibacy is the mode of life which is ostensibly adopted by a large, and indeed increasing, proportion of people.

Religious and moral influences are not, however, the only ones which tend towards celibacy. In all matters connected with the relations of the sexes, the economic

factor plays a certain, and often important, part. Early in the history of mankind, it made celibacy obligatory on a proportion of the males, at least, in the social group. When wives were bought, a man needed to possess a certain amount of superfluous wealth before he could marry. At the same stage of civilisation, polygamy was frequent, the rich men possessing as many wives as they could afford. Thus the poor man was doubly handicapped—by his own poverty and the greed of the rich—in his effort to obtain a wife.

This involuntary celibacy is, of course, quite distinct from the voluntary celibacy of civilised societies; but both forms agree in having developed with the progress of civilisation. The struggle for existence has grown keener with the advance of society; and it has become increasingly difficult for a man to maintain, not only himself, but a wife and family at the standard of comfort demanded by the present-day mode of living. During the past century the proportion of unmarried people in Europe has risen, and there is an increasing tendency to defer marriage to a later age than formerly. Every advance in our industrial and intellectual position means a longer period of training for trade or profession, and a consequent postponement of the time chosen for marriage. Moreover, as education becomes disseminated, the intellectual range of both men and women becomes widened; they become more fastidious in their choice of partners; and, seeing more clearly the wiles of matrimony, and being less under the sway of instinct, they are not so ready to leave the ills they have for others that they know not of.

All these tendencies converge in rendering celibacy more frequent and more prolonged; and they will continue to do so as long as women are economically dependent on

men, and the struggle for existence makes such great demands on time, means, and energy.

A minor cause which tends in the same direction is the fact that as a general rule there is an excess of females over males. Therefore, unless society is polygamous, there must always be a certain number of women unmarried. The effect of this statistical difference seems almost negligible compared with the religious and economic causes which tend to the celibate state in both sexes.

While there is little or no doubt as to the causes of voluntary and involuntary celibacy, there is a vast deal of difference of opinion with regard to the physical, moral, and intellectual results of the celibate life. On these points no two authorities are quite in agreement, since most of them estimate the subject from a particular moral or religious point of view. Taking the physical effects of celibacy as an example, it is easy to find opinions ranging from the one extreme that the wilful suppression of the sexual instinct is inevitably unhealthy, to the other extreme that perfect continence has not the slightest evil effect on the bodily health. Where the truth exactly lies, it is perhaps impossible to say, simply because the subject has not, either in the case of men or women, received the close and unbiassed scientific study it deserves. All that can at present be done is to show, upon general principles, the results which future investigation is likely to confirm.

In the first place, it is clear enough that celibacy is a direct and fundamental contradiction to the scientific ideal of life. To the scientific mind, the human body is an aggregate of organs, each of which has its special function to perform and each of which depends in some measure upon all the others. From the same point of view, the body is in health only when each of these organs is per-

forming its function in a normal manner. If anyone of them is out of condition, or is through any cause denied the performance of its natural work, the harmonious balance and inter-working of the organs is destroyed, and ill-health results. Medicine aims at restoring the various organs to their natural tone; and hygiene aims at providing the environmental conditions which will maintain that tone. Therefore, if the scientific conception of bodily life were realised, not one of the organs of the body would be prevented from fulfilling the function for which it is fitted.

From this view of things it is impossible to exclude the sexual organs. Thanks to the ramifications of the nervous system, these organs are bound up with the digestive, respiratory, and circulatory systems in a fashion which makes it impossible to separate it from them when considering the effect of the suppression of sexual activity. We have already noted how the development of these sexual organs, at the stage of puberty, alters several of the bodily characteristics, deepening the voice, stimulating the growth of hair, and leading to a general awakening of physical activity. We know, too, that the excessive exercise of the sexual organs leads to physical emaciation and nervous weakness of a very marked kind; and that the continued misuse of the same organs also produces distinct effects on the system. And as an anatomical fact, the nerves communicating with the sexual organs connect, not with an isolated nerve system, but with the nerves of general sensibility; and the stimulation of the sexual organs is thus bound to affect the whole nervous system.

Further, we know that the senses of smell, touch, sight, and hearing all play a part in intimate connection with sexual activity; and that the higher activities of the mind

are also implicated in choice and courtship. Therefore we are bound to consider the sexual organs as part and parcel of the bodily system, and to look upon their activity or non-activity as a matter which affects, not these organs alone, but the body as a whole.

From this point of view, the opinion held by many medical men that the suppression of sexual activity has no detrimental effect on health is a scientific heresy. It is to be feared that in this opinion one can trace the influence of religious and moral preconceptions, which prejudice the mind in favour of the innocence (hygienically speaking) of celibacy. The sexual organs themselves must suffer, and with them the nervous system and the other organs. Exercise is essential to the health of all organs alike; it encourages their development and promotes their regular and proper functioning. If they are denied that exercise, their development is retarded, and they lose, partially at least, the power of executing their duties in the proper fashion.

When the sexual organs are restrained from their due activity, certain marked results follow. In the male, the formation of semen continues until the accumulation produces intermittent irritation of the organs, with erection of the penis, and finally an involuntary discharge of semen, usually during sleep and under the stimulus of an erotic dream. A certain measure of relief is afforded by this discharge; and pious minds have indeed regarded it as a dispensation of Providence in favour of sexual continence, while others less piously inclined have accepted it as Nature's kindly method of smoothing the path of the celibate. In other quarters it is considered as a pathological phenomenon, as evidence of a really unhealthy condition of the organs. Probably the truth lies somewhere between

the two classes of opinion. It seems a stretch of language to call this spontaneous emission pathological, as it is also not quite reasonable to say it is quite the normal and healthy thing. When the organs are normally exercised it does not take place; and the quantity of semen discharged is in most cases the surplus over the quantity which the seminal vesicles may retain without irritating the sexual system by pressure.

This view of the matter receives support from the fact that the involuntary discharge by no means relieves the individual of strong and even irrepressible sexual desire; the first normal stimulus, the first temptation, raises it to much the same height as it attained before the occurrence of the discharge. Therefore it does not smooth the path of the celibate in any appreciable degree. It is really Nature's protest against the neglect of her demands, a nervous explosion which occurs in place of the normal expenditure of nervous energy. It is, in a word, a symptom of an abnormal condition of the organs.

A similar phenomenon occurs in the female sex; with them, also, an involuntary orgasm occurs in sleep after a varying period of sexual abstinence. In their case, however, the phenomenon is complicated by the menstrual function, which has itself been regarded as a reaction against sexual inactivity and has been stated as due to a "disappointed impregnation." With this difference, men and women are in the same situation.

The effect of the emission on the nervous system is, however, somewhat different. With men, the main result is a temporary feeling of depression and perhaps a feeling of moral disgust, where the conscience is so sensitive on sexual matters as to induce shame at even an involuntary sexual manifestation. The nervous effect is, in short,

transient; and it seldom survives the short waking period which follows the orgasm. With women, on the other hand, the nervous disturbance caused by the erotic dream and the consequent orgasm, persists sometimes through the following day, and in certain hysterical women occasionally leads them to believe that the events of the dream were a reality.

There are instances on record of men being accused of outrage, on no other basis than the erotic illusions of an hysterical woman. In this we have additional evidence of the greater affectability of women—a matter touched upon in detail in a former chapter. It leads us inevitably to the conviction that the emotional influence of any one mode of sex life is bound to be greater in the case of women than in the case of men; that, in short, if any sexual habit is detrimental to man, it is almost sure to be more so to woman.

A clear instance of this is afforded by the effect of the celibate life on the bodily system as a whole. With man, it cannot safely be said to amount to more than a general lowering of tone, a diminution of organic activity, with periodic crises of nervous irritation. With woman, these effects appear in an exaggerated form; the lowering of tone is increased to an anæmic condition of the system, often producing a distressing amount of weakness; and the nervous irritation shows itself in an excitability which borders frequently on the hysterical. These effects, it is safe to assume, would be much greater except for the menstrual crisis, which affords a certain measure of nervous relief. As it is, however, there is everything to show that the feminine sex suffers in greater degree than the masculine, from the physical effects of sexual suppression.

III.—These effects are reflected, inevitably, on the emo-

tional and intellectual life, since the emotions and the activities of the brain depend upon the action and condition of muscles and nerves. The sexual instinct has many emotional elements, and its exercise and satisfaction involve perhaps the most intense emotional experiences of which the human frame is capable. From the scientific point of view (which it is necessary to emphasise even at the risk of wearisome reiteration) these experiences are, generally speaking, beneficial. The scientific ideal aims at a complete emotional life, just as it demands complete activity of the physical functions; and it therefore implies that the emotions, the sexual emotions included, should have their due exercise. On this ground, celibacy stands condemned. It eliminates all the emotional accompaniments of the realisation of the sex life, and induces an emotional hunger which is closely akin, and indeed caused by, the physical hunger of the unexercised sexual organs.

At this point it may be necessary to consider the argument that the sexual emotions are not really dependent on the physical consummation of love, but may be exercised fully and freely without as much as a suggestion of physical intimacy. This argument may be dismissed on the general ground that the sexual organs are so bound up with the nervous system that the emotions associated with the sex life could never reach depth or intensity independent of these organs. But a much more satisfactory answer is afforded by an appeal to actual experience. Those who have known both states, who have loved at a distance and who have later known the fullest freedom of intimacy, will not be found to exalt the former above the latter as a complete and satisfying emotional experience. Love may not be dependent for its power and fascination upon its physical consummation, but the fact remains that that

consummation is the natural outcome of mutual affection and is the condition of its reaching its full influence. The absence of that consummation leads to a state of emotional unrest which in highly-strung natures may produce a morbid condition of the system, and is at any rate the source of continued dissatisfaction and distraction in even the most phlegmatic individuals.

It is indeed this nervous unrest which is the chief physical result of continence in the individual. Due ultimately to the accumulation of reproductive material, it persists until the accumulation is relieved by voluntary or involuntary discharge or slowly re-absorbed by the system. While it lasts, it is the cause of much of the erratic, strange and even outrageous behaviour of individuals towards members of the opposite sex. Under its influence, the usual control over thought and action is lost; and the stimulus of even the slightest sexual excitement or temptation betrays the individual into speech and behaviour which he regrets in calmer moments.

But whether it results in impetuous action or not, this restlessness of mind and body is a distraction which disturbs the capacity for work and is frequently the source of acute depression. The effort to combat it by zealously putting aside every thought of sex is mostly useless, for the simple reason that such continual struggling with the promptings of the sexual instinct causes a pre-occupation with it which is even more dangerous than the result of offering no moral opposition to erotic suggestion.

In all the wide range of conventional "moral advice" no feature is more ludicrous, or more pathetic, than the plan recommended for overcoming this sexual unrest. The sufferer is urged to take plenty of heavy and even exhausting physical exercise, and to occupy his mind like-

wise with some severe and continuous effort of abstract thought. This would be admirable, did not physical exercise give fresh tone and vigour to the system, the sexual organs included, (the farming population, constantly engaged in tiring physical exertion, are among the most unchaste of people), and were it not physically impossible for a person in a state of morbid nervous irritation to concentrate his attention on a serious mental effort for any length of time. The counsel to abstain from tobacco, intoxicants, and other stimulants, is much more to the point; for these have certainly an exciting influence on the sexual organs. Nevertheless, it must be recognised that apart from these, and in spite of every effort to follow out the other directions of the moralist, the sexual excitability of both men and women is apt to periodically reach a morbid pitch at which most moral counsels and conscientious endeavours at restraint are as nothing in the face of a powerful instinct which persistently demands satisfaction.

It must not be gathered from these remarks that we intend to infer that celibacy is impossible of realisation. There is ample evidence that it can be realised. But it is nowhere realised without a cost, a cost in physical vigour and in emotional experience. The latter is the more serious, since the emotions most closely bound up with the sexual life are the most ennobling of all. Self-sacrifice is acknowledged to be the basis of virtue; the noblest instances of self-sacrifice are those dictated by sexual affection. Sympathy is the secret of altruism; nowhere is sympathy more real and complete than in love. Courage, both moral and physical, the love of truth and honour, the spirit of enterprise, and the admiration of moral worth, are all inspired by love as by nothing else in human existence. Celibacy denies itself that inspiration or restricts its influ-

ence, according to the measure of its denial of sexual intimacy. Thus the deliberate adoption of a consistently celibate life implies the narrowing down of emotional and moral experience to a degree which is, from the broad scientific standpoint, unjustified by any of the advantages piously supposed to accrue from it.

These remarks on the emotional starvation which is one result of celibacy, apply more forcibly to women than to men, because of the greater affectability of the former. The immediate emotional life means more to them; and when they are denied the happiness of sexual intimacy and the satisfaction of their maternal instinct, there is a deeper sense of a disappointed life than in the case of man, whose mental range is wider and whose parental instinct is by no means so deeply rooted. Here again we find that the disadvantages press more heavily on the female sex—a circumstance which is repeated so often in the sexual life that one is obliged to conclude that Nature, as well as man, is often unpardonably lacking in chivalry.

IV.—There remains the question of the influence of celibacy on the intellectual life. This is also a matter upon which there is considerable difference of opinion. Guyau, for instance, believes that celibacy has a cramping effect on intellectual vigour, while Renan encourages the monastic life, in the belief that the energy which might otherwise be expended in sexual activity will thereby be transformed into energy of thought. The latter point of view is generally more popular with orthodox moralists, who are inclined to welcome any plausible argument in favour of the sexual restraint which has to them a distinct moral beauty and meaning. But they make the mistake of arguing from the wrong set of facts. Instead of taking the normal man and arguing from observation of the intel-

lectual effects of celibacy on him, the supporters of Renan take the man of genius as their starting point and argue therefrom to the average man. They defend their method of method of reasoning by its parallel with the argument from pathology to physiology, where the former (the study of organs and tissues in disease) throws valuable light on the latter (the study of organs and tissues in the normal condition of health). In the pathological condition, things are found magnified in such a fashion as to bring to light the actual condition of things in the ordinary healthy state.

The man of genius is an abnormal man; we find normal conditions exaggerated in him; and if celibacy has a marked beneficial influence on his mental capacity, it seems safe to argue that the same mode of life will have a similar, though reduced, effect on the normal individual. Now geniuses, we know, are nearly always sterile; at best they have very small families. Carlyle and Ruskin are popular types of genius, and they, like many such great thinkers, are characterised by extreme mental fertility and complete physical barrenness. Geniuses, of course, have had children; Wagner had a son and Shakespeare was not childless. But as a general rule a genius is looked upon as a man who attains to unusual intellectual heights at the expense of physical health, in which term the activity of the sexual organs is included. Nothing in the world is gained without a sacrifice; and the genius wins fame at the expense of physical health and comfort, which the normal man constantly desires and usually possesses.

Thus it is reasoned that if an ordinary individual will deny himself the pleasures of sexual intercourse, he will reap the benefit in an increase of intellectual vigour. The brain gains what the body loses. Women and love are thrust out of the circle of interest and all the energies

usually expended in these distractions are concentrated on the all-important brain work. Therefore, as far as the intellectual output is concerned, celibacy is a positive advantage.

This reasoning appears quite sound until we consider what a genius really is and how he compares with the average man. He is not merely an average man magnified, as a pathological case is an exaggeration of a physiological one. He is an average man distorted, with his faculties thrown out of the normal balance, one or more being exaggerated at the expense of the others. According to Professor Sergi (*The Monist*, October, 1899):—

“Men of genius are very frequently one-sided, with a limited horizon, and have only one direction in which they turn their minds and their activities, and outside of which they are nothing, inferior to common men, frequently infantile. Very rarely are they men who are relatively complete. Such one-sidedness makes them appear strange, even mad, as sometimes they are, always eccentric and frequently unbalanced. . . . The man of genius, therefore . . . is and must be an eccentric, one who departs from the common orbit in which other men are accustomed to move; and if it is admitted that in the normal man, in his psychic functions, there ought to be found a correlation of development and manifestation, in the genius, on the contrary, this correlation is interrupted—one function finding itself exalted by the abasement of another; that is, there is an unbalanced condition.”

In the light of this, it seems hardly safe to argue directly from the eccentric unbalanced genius to the ordinary balanced man. The regime which suits the intellectual vigour of a Carlyle does not necessarily encourage

the mental efforts of the average man. In fact, the peculiarity of a genius is that what suits him suits hardly anybody else. Each genius has his particular eccentricities and is a law unto himself. He does not obey general rules and is therefore not an example of their influence.

The fact that genius is often sterile and inclined to celibacy does not, consequently, imply the fact that celibacy is an advantage to the brain of the majority of men. Renan's argument is further weakened by the fact that sexual indifference or incapacity is not a constant characteristic of genius. There are several striking exceptions. Shakespeare was by no means a sexually indifferent man; indeed he is accused by some of his biographers of having married for the purpose of legitimising his first child. Byron was the subject of notorious scandal with more than one woman, and his poetry is exceptionally passionate. Goethe seems to have been if anything sexually hyper-sensitive. It would be easy, in short, to select from the roll of genius numerous instances to prove that great intellectual output of high quality is by no means incompatible with strong and active sexual capacity. There is thus no necessary connection between exceptional mental vigour and celibacy, unless these cases can (which seems hardly reasonable) be regarded as the exceptions which prove the rule.

It is difficult to argue from the genius to the general case for another reason. The normal man, in adopting monasticism, sacrifices a most important set of emotional and physical capabilities; the genius, in remaining celibate, does not sacrifice these capabilities, since he does not as a rule possess them. To Ruskin it was no blow to see the woman who had been his legal wife wedded to another man, because the emotional attraction which is the essence of love and the cause of jealousy was absent. People are

often unthinking in their admiration of a poet, an artist, or a man of science, devoted to his labours in so whole-hearted a fashion that he rises superior, as his admirers think, to the claims of the passion which absorbs so much of the feeling and thought of lesser men. That passion makes no appeal to them, and it is absurd to regard their sexual indifference (which is really a physical and psychological deficiency) as a victory over self, a sacrifice on the altar of holy intellectual labour.

Such men are, in a word, impotent; and it is nothing for them to forego what has no attractions for them. The regime of monasticism, so far as it touches sex, has no hardships for them, and leaves them with no sense of want, no hunger of the body, heart, or soul.

With the complete, normal man the case is vastly different. To crush his sexual desires is to annihilate a part of his nature. Celibacy means to him the constant haunting by the shadow of the passion which he has tried to put out of his life. It is the deliberate elimination of one of his most intense and far-reaching faculties; and the result is that he disturbs the harmonious balance of his organism and forces it into a mode of existence for which it was not by nature intended. This disturbance is not only physical, but emotional and mental; and it involves him in a perpetual state of disquiet from which the impotent genius does not suffer. The latter can realise all his peculiar faculties apart from sex; the former never. Celibacy has thus an utterly different meaning in the lives of the two; and its effect in the one case cannot be taken as an index to its effects in the other.

At this point it may be objected that Renan does not argue from the exceptional cases of genius but from the general data afforded by a wide survey of various nations,

He discovers, in short, that the less intelligent races are the more prolific, and concludes therefrom that a tendency to sterility is a characteristic of the mentally superior people. These facts are admitted; nevertheless, to admit them is a very different thing from accepting celibacy as a direct cause of increased intellectual power.

As Guyau pertinently observes in his "The Non-Religion of the Future," "love must not quite be confounded with sexual activity, unless one is to draw the somewhat strange conclusion that among animals hares are those who are best acquainted with love." In the animal world, there does not seem to be any fixed relation between intelligence and reproductive capacity, just as there seems to be no fixed connection between brain development and the adoption of monogamy in preference to polygamy, or *vice versâ*. As mankind develops in intellectual and æsthetic power, love is bound to put on an increasingly psychic character; the physical act will play an increasingly small part in it, though it will never cease to be essential to its completeness so long as man is an animal.

Renan's argument is further vitiated by the fact that the inferior reproductive activity of the higher races does not necessarily mean a reduction in sexual activity. The limitation of families by preventive means against conception diminishes reproduction but places little or no restraint on sexual activity. A diminished birth-rate is therefore more likely to be the result of prudence than of a movement towards celibacy. Renan's argument is rendered almost ludicrous by the fact that his own country, where celibacy is discounted as nowhere else, the rulers of the people are in perpetual concern about the small and ever-diminishing birth-rate.

The case for the intellectual value of celibacy must there-

fore be regarded as not proven. It is rendered still less sound by the fact that, from the scientific point of view adopted in previous chapters, sexual activity must be regarded as an intellectual stimulus. The functioning of the sexual organs is necessary to complete the proper activity of the body as a whole; the omission of that functioning disturbs the physiological balance, and thus diminishes the tone of the system. It is an acknowledged fact that the proper exercise of these organs encourages the proper functioning of the others, stimulates circulation and assimilation, and acts as a tonic to the nerves of brain and muscle. Such exercise is, in short, a stimulus to the body as a whole, the brain included, just as muscular exercise is. The brain is very susceptible to the condition of the digestive and circulatory organs, since it depends for its efficient action on the supply of ample blood of good quality. Just as our sensations and impressions are altered by brain troubles, so is the nature of even the most abstract thought. All are the accompaniments of the activity of brain cells, which are fed by the blood supplied to the heart by the assimilative organs.

Thus the brain is bound to share in the sexual stimulus; intellectual effort acquires through it a new strength. It is not a matter of transforming venereal energy into mental vigour. Our bodily system, like every other going concern, requires to give, in order to receive; and anything in the way of undue accumulation of capital at one point merely clogs the free action of the whole. It is not only in ethics that one has to give as well as to receive in order to be continually healthy; and it is by no means only the pleasure of the orgasm which is the physiological justification of the sexual act. The sacrifice of reproductive material is essential to the physiological balance which

alone can mean health. Therefore, if we were to place morals on a purely physiological basis, celibacy would appear as a distinctly immoral mode of life, as a contradiction of the principle of self-sacrifice. From this physical immorality the brain is bound to suffer; and thus it is only by allowing the most powerful of natural instincts its natural action that the brain can be given its full chance of activity.

Passing from physiology to psychology, from questions of blood supply and nerve stimulation to questions of motives and ideas, the teachings of science against celibacy are no less pronounced. For it is a truism of experience that love is one of the greatest of incentives to strong and purposeful intellectual activity. It supplies a motive which in the general run of men is stronger than even ambition, stronger than the love of wealth, of power, of position. The spectacle of a man in whom much mental energy is latent and who is yet so indifferent to the ordinary fruits of labour as to contentedly allow it to remain latent—the spectacle of such a man roused from his lethargy by his love for a woman is no uncommon one.

Intellectual achievement is not so much the outcome of a capable brain as of such a brain actuated by a powerful motive. It is a mathematical certainty that greater results will be achieved by an average intellect with a persistent and strong impulse behind it, than by a superior brain which lacks any vigorous incentive. A rich land lying fallow is less productive than a medium land stimulated by the methods of agricultural cultivation. Therefore, even if it were admitted that celibacy affords a reserve of intellectual energy, the non-sexual mode of existence lacks the motive which might force that energy to its utmost accomplishment. Until monks and priests produce works

at all comparable in insight, grasp, and æsthetic excellence to the works of less ascetic laymen, the intellectual efficacy of the celibate life must remain a pious fallacy.

V.—A word may here be said on the subject of the educative value of the complete sexual life. There are two main things which a man has to learn in this world: human nature and external nature. He can learn the former only by examining himself or by becoming acquainted with the feelings and thoughts of others. In the exaltation of being which love produces, a man often discovers in himself motives, impulses, elements of strength and weakness, of which he was previously unaware. It is as if the hidden sources of his nature had been brought to light. This is no mere poetical fancy; it is a scientific fact. For so powerful an organic stimulus as that of sex is bound not only to encourage the powers of perception, but to develop the emotions and impressions perceived, and thus reveal a man to himself in a fashion which no amount of calm introspection can surpass.

The increase of insight into the nature of others is no less marked, at least in the case of the partner in sexual intimacy. Individual men and women are not only clothed in a physical sense; they are surrounded by conventions, by polite affectations, by all the reserved and studied manners of civilised society. Within the charmed circle of these invisible disguises lies the true being; and he is revealed only to the one person before whom all reserve is abandoned.

Sexual intimacy, when it is the outcome of a whole-hearted love, is not merely a physical intimacy; it is an emotional intimacy and an intellectual intimacy—an intimacy of soul as well as of body. Therefore when a man loves and is loved, he sees as closely into the human heart

as man can see. He perceives the working of feeling and motive, of like and dislike, of instinct and reason, as if the human soul were for the time transparent. That is why it is said that to love is a liberal education. That is why the wisdom of love is sometimes greater than the self-centred thoughts of the philosopher.

But not only does a close intimacy with a member of the opposite sex deepen the insight into human feelings and motives; it affords in addition a unique field for the exercise of the various moral qualities—self-sacrifice, honesty, courage, and sympathy. No other relationship between human beings is so close nor demands such constant and carefully controlled activity of these moral qualities. Friendship makes demands upon these qualities, but not to the extent of love, since it is on a lower plane and is altogether a simpler relation. In friendship the two natures touch at a few points; in love the endeavour is to make them touch at as many points as possible. Thus it claims a higher moral effort and involves a more delicate play of the moral faculties. The celibate places himself outside the range of these close intimacies, and thus deprives himself of the choicest means of realising that perfection of sympathy and harmony which forms the only satisfactory moral life.

It is almost unnecessary to note, in addition, that love is the most potent influence towards the attainment of self-respect, which many regard as the secret of moral health. Love of approbation is an element of sexual love, and the lover seeks to win it by the open performance of worthy deeds; and by the performance of these his self-respect is fortified.

It may be argued that this motive is merely egotistical, and therefore morally of low value. But it is irrational

to discredit a motive merely because it is egotistical, especially if it leads to a healthy moral result. Traced to their source, many of the most exalted motives are essentially egotistical. The desire of salvation, which prompts to religious faith, is perhaps the most selfish impulse that could well be imagined, since personal salvation is by its nature desired for personal benefit, and not to oblige our neighbours. Yet the doctrine of salvation is the central one of orthodox Christianity, the religion of altruism. In short, egotistical motives are excellent when they lead towards a good end; and the characteristic of love is that it tends to exalt most of all those motives which lead to an unquestioned moral outcome.

Apart from the moral glamour which surrounds the religious ideal of chastity, the self-restraining element in celibacy is the characteristic which commends it most to the orthodox moralist. This self-restraint is regarded as something valuable in itself. Here we have a relic of the asceticism which encouraged celibacy as an ideal because it was a most complete form of self-immolation. But, from the scientific point of view, nothing could be more futile, more immoral, than a restriction of activity for no useful human end.

Moreover, the ideal of science is self-control, not self-restraint; and that control is directed towards the rational use of faculties, not towards their suppression. There is something here far finer, far loftier, than the mere crushing of passion, the binding of body and soul in the miserable chains of asceticism.

In conclusion, therefore, celibacy is out of count as an ideal form of sex life on the three grounds of its physical, moral, and intellectual results. We have purposely considered it apart from its obvious relations to questions of

population and the moral influence of parental duties and responsibilities. These are undeniably important, but our first object was to ascertain the influence of celibacy considered merely as an annulment of the sexual instinct. From what we have seen of that influence, the only conclusion that can logically be reached is that the celibate life is, scientifically speaking, immoral, and that it should never be adopted except for very cogent reasons. In the following chapters, some of these reasons (most of them are economic) will be discussed; meanwhile we must turn to a manifestation of the sexual instinct which may be considered as occupying the mid-way position between celibacy and the complete exercise of the sexual functions which scientific morality demands as its ideal.

CHAPTER III.

MASTURBATION.

- I.—Unanimous opinion on practice of masturbation—Necessity for scientific investigation—The influence of moral and religious prejudice on current opinions—Alleged symptoms of masturbation—Reasons for doubting their validity—Is masturbation prevalent?
- II.—The evolution of masturbation—Masturbation in animals—Is masturbation “unnatural”?—The habit in savage and barbarous societies—Regarded with indifference until advent of Christianity—Baneful influence of medical opinion—Masturbation a “colossal boggy.”
- III.—What masturbation really is—Its relations to normal coitus—An electrical parallel—Depressing effect of masturbation—Evil results of the habit exaggerated—Masturbation and remorse—The true source of the moral evils of masturbation—Masturbation and cynicism.
- IV.—The benefits of masturbation—As a nervous sedative—The spontaneous orgasm reconsidered—Masturbation as a moral safety-valve—Its influence in reducing sexual crime and immorality.
- V.—Prevalence of masturbation increasing—Psychological and economic causes—Masturbation as a solution of the sex problem—Its fundamental failure.

I.—If one were to hold a symposium of medical men and moralists on the subject of the physical and moral effects of masturbation, there is little doubt that the result would be an almost unanimous condemnation of the practice. It seems to be a matter of unquestioned faith that whatever differences of opinion there may be about celibacy or the

normal exercise of the sexual functions, there can be no two views on the evil results of what is variously called masturbation, onanism, or self-abuse. On this the public heartily agree with the authorities on medicine and ethics. As a rule they ignore the subject, just as they ignore most things that excite their disgust. But when they do give it a thought, it is merely to acknowledge it as one of those cardinal sins of the sexual life which it is a virtue to forget as much as possible.

It is, of course, impossible for science to adopt this course; it is likewise impossible for it to accept even the unanimous verdict of authorities if it does not accord with the facts of the case. Where public opinion and professional authority are so much at one, it might be taken for granted that the matter was settled; and in an ordinary matter there would be no good *a priori* reason to question the verdict. But in sexual matters the utmost caution is needed. Such questions are as a rule decided by feeling, not by reason; if a sexual practice excites repulsion or disgust, it is condemned out of court, all arguments and apologies for it being discounted by the fact that it offends our hereditary moral sense. The emotions are judge, counsel, and jury in one; hence there is a clear suspicion that the popular verdict will not agree with the decision of an impartial and purely intellectual court.

Nor can it be safely asserted that such a court might be formed by medical men and ethical teachers. They too are under the influence of moral attraction and repulsion; and they would hesitate to express their belief in the physical and moral innocence of a habit which society united to pronounce hurtful and immoral. And they would not only hesitate to express such a belief; but the majority of them would have great difficulty in reaching

it, even assuming it for the moment to be the correct belief. It requires a considerable amount of intellectual courage to attain a conviction which is directly opposed to the convictions of all other men. We are not all intellectually courageous, just as we are not all morally or physically courageous. Most of us find it easiest to remain within the grooves of thought which our ancestors have made for us. Therefore the unanimity of authorities in this matter by no means puts the discussion at an end. It should rather make us suspect that such complete agreement on a difficult and obscure subject is due to a powerful prejudice or to a one-sided view of the facts.

Taking the purely physical aspect of masturbation first, there is good reason for believing that medical men are by no means so well versed in the actual bodily effects of the habit as their assurance might lead one to think. The following are some examples of the symptoms of masturbation, culled from current medical works:—

“The masturbator,” says Dr. Garnier, in his “*Le Mariage*,” p. 613, “is known to the last perspicacious eye by his pale and leaden complexion, his discoloured and sunken eyes; his figure expresses mingled shame, misery, and defiance. A hanging head, sunk upon the chest, an excessively developed penis, a rapid increase or arrest of growth, a voracious appetite, rapid loss of flesh, without apparent illness, a hesitating walk, feebleness at the small of the back, slackness and lassitude of the body in action and pose, short, agitated, or interrupted sleep, a feeble, husky, or hoarse voice, unhealthy or sedimentary urine, frequent shivering, are the signs which, single or united, betray these bad habits.”

In his “*L’Hygiene Sexuelle*,” Dr. Ribbing, a Swede, says:—

“The consequences [of masturbation] make themselves felt sooner or later. Although it is not always possible for even the most skilful eye to assert at first sight that an individual is a masturbator, it cannot be denied that the individual afflicted with this vice often has it marked upon his face and in his appearance. The eyes are sunken, the look shifty, the face of a corpse-like pallor, the hands cold and moist, the memory short, the temper irritable; finally, to this list of symptoms are frequently added a certain lassitude and habits of day-dreaming.”

These passages are typical of the views of medical men who address themselves directly to the public. Many of them believe, further, that masturbation is one of the main causes of insanity; and to the list of symptoms we may add a physical dislike to normal sexual intercourse. With such a catalogue of terrible and obvious symptoms, one would think that doctors would know a masturbator with little or no difficulty, and would thus have a very shrewd idea of the proportion of their patients who were addicted in greater or less degree to the habit of solitary sexual indulgence.

But this is exactly what they do not appear to have. It is a matter of importance, as well as of mere scientific interest, to discover how many members of an average hundred of people employ this means of relieving sexual desire. Yet it is impossible to arrive at any satisfactory estimate; the authorities give all sorts of opinions, all of them qualified by doubts and by admissions of ignorance as to the actual state of things. Even in the case of doctors who are in constant attendance at schools and similar institutions, the best that they can give is a mere guess at the proportion of masturbators. We are told on the one hand that the practice is much more prevalent than

many optimistically-minded people suppose, and on the other that the extent to which the habit is indulged has been grossly exaggerated.

Medical unanimity on the evil effects of masturbation is thus in sad contrast to the difference of opinion as to the number of cases in which these effects ought to occur. If the symptoms are as stated, there should be not the slightest difficulty in ascertaining, in a rough but reliable fashion, the extent to which the practice of masturbation has permeated society. On these grounds, therefore, we are entitled to express at least a suspicion that the catalogue of physical results of masturbation is a great deal more fearful than the condition of things justifies.

II.—We may accordingly turn from the vista of symptomatic horrors of masturbation, and examine the matter as far as possible in the dry light of fact. And in this examination we shall first treat the subject as we did that of sex itself, from the evolutionary point of view. It might seem at first sight impossible to discuss the evolution of what has been regarded as a vice of civilisation, as an offshoot of those particular conditions of life which oblige many individuals to remain unmarried when their sexual powers are fully active. Nevertheless, masturbation is a familiar phenomenon in barbaric and savage races of men; and it is by no means unknown amongst animals living in a state of nature. It is this last fact which, more than any other, will induce us to investigate the subject in a dispassionate scientific spirit.

The phenomenon of solitary sexual excitement has not been frequently observed among animals in their native haunts. But there is no doubt that it does exist; by various methods, such as friction or pressure against external objects, the animal is able to excite the sexual

organs until the orgasm takes place. It is hardly probable that the practice is more than exceptional, since, if it were anything like habitual, it would exclude normal sexual intercourse, and so tend towards sterility and the consequent extinction of the species. Moreover, since the normal sexual stimulus is so strong, and the opportunities for its satisfaction so numerous in a state of nature, any other form of sexual activity can hardly have any considerable vogue. The important matter is that the practice is not unknown among wild animals. When they are under the influence of sexual excitement, it is a matter of circumstance whether the pressure is relieved by coitus or by one of the mono-sexual methods described.

These facts are still more marked among animals in captivity. Deprived of the means of access to individuals of the opposite sex, both males and females so habitually resort to masturbation that the phenomenon is quite familiar to all keepers of animals. Horses, bulls, goats, stags, sheep, elephants, bears, dogs, cats, and many other animals masturbate when they have no partners; apes are notorious in this connection. With monkeys the hand is used as the exciting instrument, thus establishing the long hereditary descent of the commonest method of masturbation among human beings.

In view of these facts (which are so well attested by competent observers as to be quite indisputable) there is no ground for calling the practice of masturbation "unnatural." It may not be normal; indeed it may be safely asserted to be abnormal, on the ground that the normal sexual stimulus afforded by the presence and the advances of a partner, is absent in the masturbatory act. Nevertheless, to call a practice unnatural when it is found existing in animals who are free to follow their natural instincts, is

plainly to be under a misconception. Masturbation is therefore not a vice of an advanced stage of human civilisation, an aberration of natural instinct under unhealthy and degenerate conditions. It is merely a long-established *natural* method of answering a sexual impulse which is denied its normal outcome in the dual act of copulation.

At this point a word may be said on the frequent use of the expression "reproductive instinct," when the impulse urging animals to copulation is meant. It is hardly likely that animals have, even during the breeding season, any perception, any notion of *reproduction* as such. Animals high in the scale of evolution do exercise a certain measure of forethought in some matters, but it seems to be straining the possible to assert that an animal just arrived at sexual maturity has the continuation of the species in his mind when he sets out in search of a mate. Nor does it seem reasonable to expect that even the female, when first about to become a mother, has any mental picture of the important function she is shortly to perform. Animals have been credited with many wonderful mental powers, but this ability to forecast the result of acts in which they have had no previous experience, is surely more than the psychology of animals justifies. Only the poet may safely say that when the male bird sings to his listening mate, the two have a vision of the young birds which they will later on be feeding and teaching to fly. Nest-building and other operations possibly due to forethought, may be readily enough explained as the outcome of natural selection, like the burrowing habits of the sand ant and the adaptation of the Venus fly-trap to the catching of insects.

In any case it is a far slighter strain upon probability to consider nest-building and so on as the result of acquired instinct than to picture them as the deliberate action of

animals who foresee the outcome of their instinctive actions, and go through a number of complicated operations purposely to meet it. In a general way, therefore, it would appear to be more rational to use the term *sexual instinct* in place of *reproductive instinct*, when speaking of the force which impels animals to an act of copulation which may or may not result in reproduction.

When we further take into account the phenomenon of masturbation among animals, we find a more particular reason for abandoning the use of the word reproductive in this connection. An instinct which leads an animal under appropriate circumstances to fertile copulation may lead it under other circumstances to a similar satisfaction in sterile masturbation. This makes it fairly clear that what the animal seeks is not to obey an impulse to reproduce its kind, but merely to relieve a physical tension which results from the absence of coitus. When the act is accomplished, the tension is removed, the sexual excitement vanishes, and the animal resumes its normal activities. With many of them, the desire for copulation vanishes after the rutting season, which shows that the so-called reproductive instinct is dependent upon the activity of the sexual organs.

Reproduction, in short, is a conception which is beyond the grasp of the animal mind. In man it exists as a mental picture, not as a physical desire. Man *knows* that in the satisfaction of his sexual passion he is likely to set the machinery of reproduction in motion; but his immediate impulse is not to create, but merely to find the satisfaction which his passion demands.

From the existence of mono-sexual habits in animals, we are naturally led to suspect it also in savages, their nearest human descendants. It may seem strange that among savages, where there is no moral premium upon celibacy

and few or no restraints on the union of the sexes, that solitary sexual habits should be other than exceedingly rare. But just as they are not unknown among free-living animals, so they exist, and are even common, among almost equally free-living savages.

It is not difficult to collect, from works on anthropology, many incontestable instances of the practice among primitive peoples, such as the Hottentots, Kaffirs, and, indeed, the aborigines of almost every country in the world. And in barbaric countries, where celibacy is still a rarity, though moral obligations are somewhat more developed, we find ample evidence of the prevalence of masturbation. Among polygamous communities, where a certain proportion of women are necessarily denied the full exercise of their sexual functions, masturbation among them is more common than exceptional, and is sometimes accomplished, as among Japanese women, with the aid of mechanical appliances which afford the highest degree of sensual excitement and gratification.

It is also notable that among such uncivilised or semi-civilised peoples, masturbation is not regarded with the disgust and opprobrium which in modern civilised countries make it one of the unmentionable vices. The Greeks and the Romans—to whom we owe so much in social and intellectual elevation—treated masturbation with an indifference which in such a matter was practically equivalent to moral approval. Galen, the famous father of medicine, regarded the practice in a favourable light. Havelock Ellis explains this indifference by suggesting that under the conditions of society at that time, excessive solitary sexual indulgence was likely to be exceptional. There was ample opportunity for normal sexual intimacy, and, as the reader of classical literature is well aware, rela-

tionships between members of the same sex were by no means rare.

Therefore, masturbation was not likely to be a phenomenon of striking importance; and, indeed, it was not until the rise of ecclesiastical Christianity, with its doctrine of asceticism, that any strong feeling on the subject was aroused. Then it was that solitary indulgence became branded as a cardinal vice.

The church, in fact, discouraged all forms of sexual manifestation; and its creation of the sacrament of marriage was, as before indicated, in the nature of a compromise with the weaknesses of the flesh. Masturbation naturally fell under its ban, but it is a curious and ironical fact that the direct effect of the spread of the Christian ideal was to make the habit much more prevalent than formerly. The church preached celibacy at the same time as it palliated marriage, and the result was that a large number of its most earnest devotees were voluntarily deprived of the natural expression of their sexual emotions.

But only in a minority of cases could the flesh be altogether conquered—a process rendered doubly difficult by the stimulating influence which religious exaltation unquestionably has on the sexual emotions. Solitary indulgence offered the simplest and most apposite remedy; and from the confessions and other writings of the old theologians we may gather that it was frequently adopted. Masturbation was indeed so prevalent among Christians that Mohammedans were in the habit of regarding it as a distinguishing Christian vice; among Mohammedans the encouragement given to marriage rendered the practice comparatively infrequent. Thus we find that the Christian church, with the best intentions in the world, succeeded in extending a practice which it has never ceased to condemn.

The advent of Protestantism did not improve matters much, although its greater freedom in the matter of conscience and its saner attitude towards marriage rendered all irregular forms of sexual manifestation less obvious and perhaps less prevalent. Havelock Ellis believes, indeed, that the habit of masturbation was regarded with greater or less indifference until the publication of, in 1760, of a volume entitled "*Traité de l'Onanisme: Dissertation sur les Maladies produites par la Masturbation.*"

The author was Tissot, a physician of Lausanne; and to him it seems necessary to accord the questionable honour of raising masturbation to the position of the "colossal bogey," which it continues to be even to the present day. It is a bogey because it is feared without being understood, and inspires a degree of moral revulsion out of proportion to its effects on the character.

III.—If we view the masturbatory act in a dry physiological light, there does not appear to be much to distinguish it from the normal sexual act. In the latter, the orgasm is brought about by the cumulative effect of erotic thoughts, of impressions conveyed through the senses of sight, smell, hearing, and touch, and of the excitation of the sexual organs by mutual contact. The last named influence is the immediate cause of the orgasm, since the others are as a rule unable to produce emission by themselves.

In masturbation, the exciting influence of the contact of the organs is replaced by manual manipulation, by pressure against external objects, and, in the case of women, by the introduction of objects into the vagina. The erotic thoughts are present, and they stimulate the imagination to counterfeit, with greater or less success according to the nature of the individual, the sensuous impressions which

accompany the normal sexual embrace. Therefore the main actual difference between the sexual and the masturbatory acts is the difference in the material excitation which directly brings about the orgasm.

There is no doubt that this is a difference of some importance. The sexual organs are provided with extremely sensitive nerves; and although their stimulus, by whatever external means accomplishes the same act of emission, each kind of stimulus will produce a different kind of nervous excitation. Consequently the effect of masturbation on the nervous system can hardly be the same as that of normal coitus.

But there is a more important difference than this almost mechanical one. It must not be forgotten that all nervous action is by nature electrical, and that the nervous stimulation, climax, and reaction of the sexual act may be expressed in terms of electrical tension and are indeed to a great extent electrical phenomena. There is reason to believe, moreover, that in the sexual embrace there is a definite passage of electricity between the male and the female. The situation is parallel to the familiar one in which two bodies, one charged with positive electricity and the other with negative, effect an equalisation by a mutual discharge when brought into contact. This may seem a crude parallel, but the crudity really lies in the electrical phraseology and not in the comparison of the nervous phenomena of the sexual act with the phenomena of electrical discharge. Some electrical effect does at any rate take place as an accompaniment of the sexual orgasm; and it unquestionably depends upon the intimate *rapprochement* of two sensitive organs which the sexual act affords.

It follows inevitably that this mutual action cannot

take place where the orgasm is produced in an isolated individual. The conditions for the mutual give-and-take are absent. Therefore we may fully expect that the nervous condition of the individual after the act of masturbation will be in some way different from what it would be after coitus. And this is precisely what we do find.

What happens after ordinary sexual congress is a relaxation of nervous tension accompanied by a reduction of bodily temperature, and a lowering of the circulation—results which produce in their turn a sedative effect on the whole system, tending towards a restful sleep. In masturbation, on the other hand, the relaxing effect seems to be exaggerated to the point of exhaustion, and instead of a general feeling of restfulness, a feeling of depression is induced. This is exactly what would naturally follow from the absence of reciprocal electrical action; there is a drain of nervous energy without any compensation from a complementary individual.

From the physiological point of view, therefore, masturbation has not so healthful an influence as the normal sexual act. There is only a difference of degree between the two, since the conditions of the masturbatory act merely exaggerate the sedative effects of the orgasm to the point of depression and sometimes exhaustion. The system will take longer to recover its normal condition of temperature, circulation, and nervous tension after the orgasm of masturbation. For this reason, excessive addiction to the practice makes itself felt sooner than a corresponding excess under normal conditions, and the effects of habitual over-indulgence are likely to be greater.

It is not difficult to believe, therefore, that when the practice of masturbation becomes a habit recklessly pursued, the individual may well become the wreck which the

alarmists have pictured in the "symptoms" quoted in this chapter. The constant drain on the nervous system which excessive masturbation implies, is bound to result sooner or later in nervous collapse. But it is also true that excessive indulgence in normal sexual intercourse produces a physical exhaustion and nervous ruin which are as great and as lamentable as the condition of the confirmed over-masturbator. No one thinks of regarding the dissolute *roué* as typical of the results of sexual intimacy; and it would be equally irrational to hold up the victim of unrestrained masturbation as the example of the effects of solitary indulgence *per se*.

It is difficult, as a matter of fact, to point to any direct, positive, and permanently harmful effects of masturbation when the practice has not become a habit of excess. The system may take longer to recover its normal level of activity than in the case of sexual congress; but it does recover it, if the individual is anything like normally healthy. The danger arises when the same drain is repeated before the system has thoroughly attained its ordinary level of active and potential energy. And where the physical health cannot be said to suffer, the mental health must also be untouched, since it depends upon the healthy condition of the nervous system. There is everything, therefore, in the physiological facts of masturbation to encourage the opinion that the case for its excessively harmful effects is at least not proven.

The same facts afford us an explanation of the passive manner in which the majority of people have accepted the ecclesiastical and medical anathemas on solitary indulgence. The general lack of moral independence has had much to do with it, as has also the acquired tendency to regard all manifestations of sex with prudish dislike. But these

would in all probability have been as ineffective in the case of masturbation as in normal relationships, were the physical conditions the same in both. We have seen that they are not; and, as an important moral matter is involved, the difference is well worth considering in greater detail.

As a general rule, the act of masturbation is accomplished as the result of an obsession of sexual desire which the will is unable to resist. With many people the temptation is resisted again and again before the moral opposition is overcome; in any case the system is in a state of high nervous tension. Erotic images absorb the whole field of imagination; the physical desire for sexual relief conquers all other emotions and fills body and soul with a compelling impulse to that end. After the masturbatory act, the nervous relaxation produces a state of mind the antithesis of what existed before. The sexual passion has for the time being vanished; erotic images make no appeal, and may even, in the depressed state of the system, produce that feeling of aversion which the thought of strong desire excites in a system incapable of feeling it. Passionate desire is replaced by a feeling of wonder that thoughts and imaginings which are now cold and even repulsive should ever have carried erotic desire to such a pitch that all restraint was swept aside. The previous absorption with persistent bodily impulses is replaced by a melancholy regret that the powers of mental control should be so slight over a rebellious body. It is a supreme disillusionment, for with the vanishing of the physical obsession there has gone the whole group of passional emotions and impressions which it evoked.

At such a moment any moral scruples which may suggest themselves will have their fullest influence over the

mind; they will accord with its depressed and disillusioned state and emphasise the feeling of the vanity of physical passion and pleasure. The body is sick for the time being; and moral counsel is proverbially most acceptable when the sense of physical happiness is absent.

Something of the same result follows, it must be noted, from the normal sexual act under certain conditions. If the partners are brought together merely by the same physical hunger which animates the masturbator, the sexual act deprives them of any interest in each other. There is no emotional or intellectual *rapprochement* which might produce that affection which survives the satisfaction of the genital impulse. Then the slaking of passion likewise brings its disillusionment; but it is not, generally speaking, so great as in the case of masturbation. The nervous reaction is less; there is not the same acute sense of exhaustion.

Thus it is that remorse follows most easily and naturally on the act of masturbation, and is indeed almost a physical result of it. Moral and religious scruples merely increase the feeling of depression; and if these scruples are habitual, the depression will accentuate them at each departure from the path of rectitude, and so give them a value and importance far beyond what they would possess on their own merits.

It is therefore not surprising that a bias against the habit of self-indulgence should have been readily created by the mere suggestion of its immorality. It has indeed been asserted that the predisposition to regard the practice as immoral is the cause of most of the moral misery and deterioration which are alleged to be, and often are, the results of habitual masturbation. The half-truth, "nothing is evil but thinking makes it so," is almost a whole truth in this

connection. Instinctive modesty in matters of sex leads the individual to conceal his indulgence; very often his ignorance of the nature of the act makes him think that he is abnormal in some way and addicted to a sexual weakness whose exceptional nature makes it a particularly heinous offence. The present training of the young, with its studied discouragement of any sexual thoughts or manifestations outside the narrow limits of matrimony, gives a particularly evil complexion to a practice which has not even the justification of a passionate attachment.

Moreover, the constant failure of control which the habit implies, the futility of all attempts of the will to oppose the rising desire and to refrain from effecting its satisfaction, produces acute remorse. The individual feels his self-respect lowered by each lapse from what he believes to be the path of moral rectitude; he feels each act to be another step towards the completion of a moral damnation from which his passions and frailties will allow no escape. Lapse of time brings him some relief from the sharpness of his moral disappointment, but it also brings a rising tide of sexual desire, which involves him in a new struggle between passion and principle, ending in the same bodily failure. That is what takes place where the conventional moral instincts are well developed by education in an individual of merely normal sexual sensitiveness. And the constant recurrence of failure often induces a feeling of moral despair and recklessness which is as morally unhealthy as it is unhappy.

There is little doubt, in fact, that Griesinger is expressing a literal truth when he says, in a passage quoted by Havelock Ellis: "That constant struggle against a desire which is even over-powering, and to which the individual always in the end succumbs, that hidden strife between

shame, repentance, good intentions, and the irritation which impels to the act, this, after not a little acquaintance with onanists, we consider to be far more important than the primary direct physical effect."

It is worth noting, also, that the influence of this moral struggle and failure is not confined to the moral sphere. Like all acute moral feelings, the sense of shame and remorse which haunts the masturbator reacts upon the physical system. It produces there a more or less continuous state of depression, lowering the tone of bodily activity, spoiling the appetite, and inducing a distaste for the free, active, social life of the individual who is healthy and happy. In some exceptionally sensitive natures, it may even cause a chronic state of melancholy; and its consequences, even in fairly normal cases, are more far-reaching than is generally supposed.

A common characteristic of modern youth is a period of cynicism, in which disillusionment colours all the things of the world, and particularly the things of sex. Every man, it is said, is a cynic at twenty-one. This is most readily observed in the cases of individuals possessed of more than average intellectual ability. Their despondent and cynical cast of thought is stereotyped in their artistic and literary productions. The colour of their pictures is restricted to low tones; their subjects are in the main of a tragic and sombre kind; and in their drawing they tend towards weird unhuman figures and to strange combinations of lines and elongated curves which have a dim and mystical significance. Their poetry is more or less of a melodious wail; and their prose is distinguished by much the same unhappy qualities as their art.

It would, of course, be an exaggeration to say that the depression of masturbation was the sole cause of such

æsthetic melancholy; but it is no doubt one cause, and, if the secret history of members of some of these "new schools" in literature and art were fully known, it would probably be found to be a most important cause. At any rate, it seems a safe speculation that chronic and intermittent despondency is characteristic of the younger members of a society in which the restraints on the natural expression of sexual potentiality are many and strong. It is by no means an infrequent case to find a man or woman who, after years of solitary restlessness and depression, finds health and sanity in the physiological opportunities of marriage.

Another physical result of the habit of self-indulgence is that it is apt to produce, especially when practised to excess, a distaste for the normal exercise of the sexual functions. This is due not so much to the fact that masturbation, with its moral reaction, inclines the individual to dislike any outward manifestations of sex and so encourages the belief that sexual abstinence is the sole form of sexual purity. It is rather that the habitual use of one form of sensual excitement makes any other form ineffective to produce the same intensity of pleasure or even, in extreme cases, to produce any pleasure at all.

Thus the appetite for masturbatory excitement becomes almost an acquired instinct—one that demands its peculiar mechanism for its full satisfaction. These effects are most noticeable when the practice has been followed before puberty, before, that is to say, the sexual capacities have "set" in the normal manner. It may even be asserted that if the habit is not contracted until after puberty, and is not pushed to excess, it is easy to revert to the normal mode of satisfaction. Certainly, in the majority of cases, both men and women gladly abandon solitary indulgence

for normal intercourse and only return to it when deprived, by death or separation, of the opportunities of the ordinary mode of sexual gratification.

IV.—We may therefore conclude that on the whole the direct physical evils of moderate masturbation have been greatly exaggerated; and that its moral evils are in the main due to the intense prejudice against it, inculcated by conventional morality and religion. So far we have been defending a much-maligned practice against the attacks which are commonly admitted to be successful; we have now to carry our defence a step further and show, not only the absence of conspicuous evils, but the presence of real, if not conspicuous, benefits in the practice discussed. These benefits will be found to be, like the alleged evils, both physical and moral. They have an additional advantage in being much more definite than the somewhat vague and complicated miseries for which masturbation has been held responsible.

It must not be premised, however, that it is only within very narrow limits that self-indulgence can be described as positively beneficial. If it be resorted to otherwise than under the extreme pressure of accumulating erotic desire and *faute de mieux*, its weakening effects predominate and more than counterbalance the benefits we are about to assign to it. When masturbation is a *habit*, a form of sensual indulgence pursued for its own sake, it becomes open to the objections which may be advanced against all kinds of excessive nervous excitement. But where it may be described as occasional, it produces certain beneficial effects on the system which are not usually recognised by the conventional moralist.

In the first place, there is no doubt that it acts in a very marked degree as a nervous sedative. We have already

remarked, in a previous chapter, that the gradual accumulation of reproductive material keeps the sexual organs on the brink of excitation and produces a state of excitability in the whole nervous system. Everything is at a high tension; the mind tends to become absorbed by erotic images; the individual is irritable and restless. In this condition it is often difficult to concentrate the thoughts upon the ordinary work of the day, for the mind is continually straying in by-paths of imagination which all lead, at the bidding of the sexual erethism, to erotic subjects of some sort.

Day-dreaming is a frequent symptom of this physical state. When it is combined with a moral effort to repress sexual emotions which persistently increase in strength, it brings the system up to an almost morbid condition of emotional intensity. Then it is that the act of masturbation, in the absence of the normal outlet for sexual desire, acts beneficially by relieving the tension and bringing the sexual excitability down to a level at which it may be readily controlled. It is, in short, a nervous sedative which is by no means to be despised, from the physiological point of view, when other means are, for one reason or another, out of the question.

It has been repeatedly argued that the relief afforded by spontaneous nocturnal emissions of semen is sufficient in itself to maintain the physiological balance and relieve the intensity of sexual desire as much as a moderately strong will need ask. People have even, as has already been remarked, regarded the phenomenon of automatic emission as a kind dispensation of Providence to his weak-willed creatures, as an ingenious method of meeting our physiological demands half-way, as it were, on neutral moral ground. But in the face of the facts it seems more

reasonable to regard it as a sort of protest of an overburdened sexual mechanism, an overflow beyond the utmost limit which that mechanism can retain for any length of time. When it occurs, it does not bring the system down to a comfortable normal level; it merely reduces it to, or a little below, what might be called high-water mark. The nervous erethism remains, or is rapidly recovered; and the erotic obsession persists until Nature's protest is renewed and the nocturnal emission repeated.

Thus it is difficult to regard the automatic orgasm as an efficient outlet for surplus sexual energy. It is useful to a certain extent, but if it really maintained the system at a reasonable level of nervous comfort, celibacy would not be nearly so arduous a regime as it undoubtedly is. In persons of strong emotional sensibility, it is a palliative of the weakest sort, and has only a minimum of influence on the intensity of sexual desire.

Neither is it a certainty that it has the physiological advantages over masturbation which are commonly attributed to it. It is by no means physiologically innocent; for the occurrence of a nocturnal orgasm frequently leaves the system in a condition of greater lassitude than the masturbatory act, and the depressed condition often persists for a noticeably longer time, extending in cases through and beyond the following day.

There is no moral depression accompanying the physical relapse, since few people are stupid enough to attach any moral significance to a purely automatic physical phenomenon. But if remorse were present to emphasise the physical exhaustion, there is little doubt that the depression resulting from nocturnal pollution would be greater, and certainly as great, as that which follows on masturbation. It is difficult to obtain precise information on this

subject, as it has been up till recently quite out of the range of inductive scientific study. But at present it seems fairly safe to assume that Nature's own remedy in this matter does not quite meet the demands of the nervous system of the average individual of to-day, and that, moreover, nocturnal emission is not so innocuous physically as it is innocent morally.

The sedative effect of masturbation is bound to extend its benefits into the moral sphere, since our moral health depends to a certain extent upon our bodily condition. But masturbation, as a form of sexual relief, may claim a more definite moral influence. The entire efforts of our moralists—preachers and social guides of all sorts—are directed towards the suppression of all sexual relationships of an erratic or exceptionally passionate description. These relationships, it must be admitted, are usually entered into during periods of erotic excitement, when the sexual erethism is carried to such a pitch that ordinary moral scruples are lost sight of and the contracting parties are unable to give due weight to the probable consequences of their act. It must also be admitted that the strictly celibate life predisposes to such passional outbursts, since any strong and immediate sexual temptation acts with almost irresistible force on a starved sexual appetite.

Therefore, if some ready and harmless method could be found for reducing the sexual hunger to a normal level, so that when physical temptation came, the will would have power to meet it—if some such safeguard as this could be adopted, many of the thoughtless relationships which lead to misery for both contracting parties would be prevented.

Masturbation can certainly make a valid claim to this position. It eliminates partly, if not entirely, one of the factors of sexual immorality—the ungovernable sexual

hunger of the individual. It affords relief for that hunger, and affords it instantly, with no necessary evil effects to counterbalance its moral benefit. It clears the mind of sexual obsessions and allows it to judge of cause and effect in human actions from a more dispassionate point of view. Not only is it a nervous sedative, but it is a clarifier of the mind. Even if it produce an excessive reaction against any manifestation of sexuality, the result with regard to irrational conduct is the same. At the very worst, one may describe the practice as the acceptance of a small and temporary evil that great and lasting ones may be avoided.

It may even be speculated with some show of reason that, if there were no such outlet to sexual super-activity as masturbation affords, the number of sexual immoralities would greatly increase. A large number of men and women would certainly resort to prostitution and illicit unions of various sorts. The consequences of so doing would be much more serious than those even of habitual masturbation; for prostitution and unregulated unions are acknowledged to be the heaviest blots on our social life in its sex aspects. Therefore the rational course seems to be, not to condemn masturbation out of hand, but to recognise that it is a safeguard against conspicuous evils, that, if adopted under a careful and wise regime, its harmful influence (much exaggerated by ignorance and prejudice) does not outweigh its benefits. Taking into consideration all the available facts on the subject, it seems difficult, nay impossible, to arrive at any other conclusion than that expressed by Havelock Ellis in the following passage (p. 217):—

“As a general rule, it may be laid down that when masturbation is only practised at rare intervals, and *faute de mieux*, in order to obtain relief for physical oppression and

mental obsession, it may be regarded as the natural result of unnatural circumstances; but that when, as often happens in mental degeneracy—and as in shy and imaginative persons, perhaps of slightly neurotic temperament, may also sometimes become the case—it is practised in preference to sexual relationships, it at once becomes abnormal and may possibly lead to a variety of harmful results, mental and physical.”

V.—There are two main causes which tend to make recourse to masturbation more frequent to-day than in an earlier condition of society. The first is the psychological evolution of man, which has increased his emotional range and capacities for pleasure beyond those of savage or barbaric races. It seems to be a general idea that passion is strongest in the savage, and that evolution implies a reduction in the strength of passional impulses. But this is probably the reverse of the truth. Violent outbreaks of passion are certainly more rare in civilised beings, but less because the intensity of their emotions has declined than because they have, through heredity and individual training, gained a better control over their instinctive impulses. There is no doubt that there has been a real psychological evolution in man; and it has even been asserted that, ever since man rose from the ape, his evolution has been much more psychological than physical. The range and intensity of his emotions have increased; and he has, by the use of his intelligence, placed within reach a large number of sources of pleasure to which the savage is an entire stranger.

Therefore he is emotionally a being of higher sensitiveness and greater potentialities than his primitive ancestor; and his passions, as they have become refined and complex, have gained greater attractiveness and become more

eagerly sought after. As a result of this passional development, he has become more sexually affectable than the mere man of instinct; and with the increase of desire there has come a more frequent recourse to the means adopted to satisfy it.

Thus there is a well-founded psychological reason why masturbation, in common with other sexual "vices," should be more conspicuous in advanced countries than in those which are still in a savage or barbaric stage. But there is also a social reason, more important, perhaps, in this respect. In primitive societies celibates are almost unknown; in barbaric countries they are rare; and it is only in civilised countries that they reach a respectable proportion of the population.

Within the last few decades there has been, we have already noted, a growing tendency in this country to marry later in life than was the custom in the earlier part of the century. The standard of living has been raised, and the keen competition of industrial life has made it more and more difficult to reach a stage of economic security at which marriage would be possible or advisable. Thus the more prudent people postpone the time of marriage several years longer than was formerly necessary. These years, it must be noted, are years of sexual maturity; they are also the years during which the sexual passions are strongest in comparison with the development of will-power. If normal and legal sexual relationships are prohibited during that period, it is safe to expect that a fair proportion of the "celibates by necessity" will adopt some irregular means of sexual relief. Masturbation is the readiest and, socially speaking, the most innocent of these, and therefore the increase of celibacy implies a certain increase of the practice of masturbation. That is mainly why mas-

turbation has been so widely considered as essentially a vice of civilisation, and why it is more than ever a sexual phenomenon of importance.

From these considerations—physical, psychological, and social—it may be concluded that the evil influence of masturbation has been grossly exaggerated. There is no necessity, in the light of facts, to regard it as altogether a baneful curse on our sexual life, or to view it with that uncompromising disgust and aversion which immoral actions generally evoke. If masturbation is the source of great moral suffering, we have only to thank those religious and medical moralists who have exalted a comparatively innocent manifestation of sexuality into a prodigious moral bogey. With the exception of cases in which the practice is carried to excess, as in degenerate, neurotic, and bestial temperaments, the alleged evils are practically non-existent.

It is to be hoped, therefore, that common-sense will rapidly remove the incubus of shame which a short-sighted morality has laid upon a practice so morally neutral, and that the almost incalculable moral misery which the present state of opinion on the matter involves, will gradually cease to be. The real moral struggle in life is as a rule keen enough without any chastening shame and remorse being gratuitously added in the name of an impossible and irrational ideal.

Although this chapter has been mainly devoted to defending the moral innocence of masturbation within certain narrow limits, it must not be taken as in any way suggesting that masturbation is an acceptable solution to the sexual problem. It is at best a makeshift to which our social situation has led us, a colourless substitute for that which is to a great extent the source of all the colour of

human life. It is a practice which is essentially egoistic—which any worthy sexual relationship is essentially not. Even when there is a strong conviction of its physical harmlessness under certain circumstances, it is never the source of more than momentary pleasure, and that of a purely sensual and self-directed kind. There is in most healthy natures an instinctive dislike to an act so unbeautiful and so unlike the glowing picture of sexual relationships which the healthy erotic imagination conjures up.

With the exception of abnormal cases, every man or woman takes the first available opportunity of exercising their sexual functions in the normal manner, abandoning this *faute de mieux* practice with a feeling of almost physical relief. The essential reason of this is that masturbation, though a manifestation of sexual activity, is not a sexual act in the higher or even in the real fundamental sense. For sex implies duality, a characteristic to which masturbation can plainly lay no claim. The physical, moral, and mental reciprocity which give stability and beauty to a normal sexual intimacy are as foreign to the masturbator as to the celibate. In a sense, therefore, masturbation is as complete a negative of the sexual life as chastity itself. It is therefore an evasion of, not an answer to, the sexual problem; and it will ever remain so, no matter how surely we may be convinced of its physical harmlessness.

There need therefore be no fear that, if the moral hatred of masturbation ceased to be general, there would instantly be an epidemic of a practice which must be carefully regulated to be innocuous. The passion for normal sexual intimacy is much too strong in the bulk of people for so uninspiring a habit as masturbation to obtain a permanent hold. It is so strong that it induces men and women to run extraordinary risks at its bidding—and so frequently

as to be almost a commonplace of our social life. Our next chapter will, in fact, be devoted to the consideration of a social phenomenon which demonstrates, among other things, the supremacy of the dual sexual passion over the combined restraints of civilised morality, to say nothing of so feeble and incomplete an alternative mode of sexual satisfaction as is afforded by solitary indulgence.

CHAPTER IV.

PROSTITUTION.

- I.—The anomaly of prostitution—Prostitution in primitive societies—Its relation to marriage—Women as possessions—The prostitutes of ancient Greece.
- II.—Religious prostitution—The influence of Christianity—Causes of prostitution—Prostitution as a palliative of monogamy—The economic factor.
- III.—The personnel of prostitution—Courtesans—Prostitutes by nature and by circumstance—Are prostitutes sexually abnormal?—Various classes of prostitute—Moral degradation of prostitution—The “prostitute-wife”—Influence of ostracism on the prostitute.
- IV.—Physical effects of prostitution—Venereal contagion—Police regulation—The French system—Contagious Diseases Acts—“State regulation of vice”—Prostitution and alcoholism.
- V.—The social influence of prostitution—Its physiological function—Its moral drawbacks—The cure of prostitution.

I.—Viewed from a detached point of view, there is something quite anomalous in the phenomenon of prostitution. That it should be possible to gain a livelihood by the performance of a fundamental natural function, is one of those paradoxes of human life which entertain the philosopher. That such a means of livelihood should not only be possible, but should actually be established in our midst as an immemorial custom, tolerated because it cannot be suppressed, is a social circumstance of so curious a kind as to merit detailed study.

The paradoxical aspect of the phenomenon vanishes, of course, when the dual nature of the sexual function is taken into account. The only paradoxical element that remains is that the privilege which in nature and in a moral society is granted only under the influence of mutual attraction, should be given in exchange for material benefits, that so spontaneous and spiritual a thing as human sexual passion should be harnessed to the sordid machinery of commercial barter and competition. If any sexual custom merits the name of unnatural it is surely this. It began with man, developed with his development; and if we may believe some of our moralists, it is a vice which we shall have always with us. It is at any rate one of the greatest, if not the greatest, of the curses of modern society; and as it offers so strong an obstacle to the attainment of any worthy ideal of the sex life, it has every claim to be considered as an important part of the great problem of sex.

There is a common notion that prostitution, like masturbation and sexual inversion, is a vice of civilisation. With primitive societies, where the barriers between the sexes are of the slightest, it seems natural to conclude that every woman will be a wife. Prostitution seems much more natural to an advanced state of society, when celibates are numerous and the circumstances of marriage more complicated. Nevertheless, all the evidence goes to show that prostitution preceded marriage itself in the social evolution of man, or rather, that the earliest forms of marriage were simply recognised forms of prostitution. This arose from the fact, already noted, that in these early days, might was right, and therefore that women, being the weaker vessels, came to be possessions, and not merely mates, of the men. Fathers and husbands possessed powers

of life and death over daughters and wives; and women were sold and exchanged like any other domestic asset of these primitive times. In most cases, women had no right of disposal of their persons; even in advanced stages of barbarism, and in civilised societies, too, the right of the father to give away or withhold his daughter was absolute. We have a survival of the old reality in the custom of "giving away" in modern wedding ceremonies. The result of the low position of women in these primitive societies, and of the freedom with which they were bartered to minister to the passions and the wants of men, was that when a woman did attain to some measure of personal freedom, she disposed of herself in much the same way. She either gave herself to one man permanently as a wife, or engaged in a series of more or less promiscuous connections, for each of which she received a certain reward in return.

To civilised eyes, such a barter of body and soul appears as the acme of depravity; but from the point of view of our early ancestors, the custom had nothing degrading in it. The sense of modesty, it must be remembered, had hardly yet been born; it only developed after many generations of male subjection and restrictions. There was no feeling of shame attached to the sexual act, and therefore no odium connected with the barter of women as wives and prostitutes. It was a natural, ordinary transaction; and we may imagine it was regarded with the indifference which is the fate of most commonplace things.

In its earliest stages, therefore, prostitution is almost confounded with marriage. Certainly the two would be much on the same level from our moral point of view. Both were *quid pro quo* transactions; and the main difference between them was that the woman was given in the

one case and that she gave herself in the latter. Certainly the marriage contract was more binding, and was the only one which included the virtue of constancy. But in these days constancy was more a matter of necessity than of spontaneous desire on the part of the wife. As often as not her life depended upon it, since she was a chattel of her husband's, and he was ready to resent any irregular intimacy with her as the spoliation of a personal possession.

It is worth while noting some modern evidences of how deeply rooted this idea of the *possession* of the wife by the husband is in the mind of man. Even amongst educated men in the present day it is quite common to hear such remarks as, "I don't mind going there myself, but I'd never think of allowing my wife to go." And when a man has made advances, welcome or otherwise, to a married woman, society is quite ready to condone the husband if he treats the man as a common burglar. The matter of damages in divorce cases is a very practical example of this aspect of sexual relationships.

Not only did free women in primitive societies willingly sell themselves for the promiscuous commercial relations of prostitution, but parents freely used their daughters in the same system of exchange. This state of affairs persisted even when polygamy had become well established. It is eloquent of the mutability of the instinct in the men of barbaric races, that not even unrestricted polygamy could satisfy their desires. It is also eloquent of the mutability of the moral standard that in the height of the civilised splendour of ancient Greece, prostitutes were the honoured hostesses of philosophers and rulers. Such a thing would have been quite impossible had there been even the shadow of degradation on the profession of prostitution, which in these days numbered some of the

most intelligent, refined, and highly educated women.

Time has almost altogether reversed the current opinion on this matter in western countries, but in the civilised nations of the east the older notions persist in full strength. In Japan, the advent of western ideas has not yet altered the feeling of indifference, and in some cases approval, with which prostitution is generally regarded. A Japanese girl who sells herself to prostitution in order to save her family from destitution is unreservedly applauded; and the inmates of houses of prostitution are as often as not sold to the proprietors by their parents. Moreover, these houses are resorted to by men without any of the concealment or sense of shame which is associated with the same practice in this and other western countries. The girls themselves suffer nothing at all in loss of reputation.

II.—It is further remarkable that in older times, prostitution was even elevated to the position of a religious rite. Primitive man associated many of his crude religious notions with the mysterious genital instinct. In ancient Babylon, for instance, it was the custom for virgins to be consecrated to the goddess Nyletta (Venus) by prostituting themselves in the temple of the goddess. Religious prostitution was also very widespread in ancient Greece, and is indeed a common feature of early religions. These phenomena are interesting, not merely as a commentary on the extraordinary contracts displayed in the evolution of moral ideas, but as pointing to the period when prostitution first came to be regarded with the moral hatred and opprobrium which is the conventional attitude towards it to-day.

That change came with the advent of the religion which revolutionised the general attitude towards all manifestations of the sex instinct. An ascetic faith which viewed even legal marriage with not too favourable an eye was

bound to treat prostitution as a cardinal social and religious evil. Virginity was the Christian ideal; the utmost that the church could formally do to compromise with the imperative organic needs of man, was to institute the sacrament of marriage. All other forms of sexual relationship were therefore doubly anathema.

Nevertheless they flourished exceedingly, and were not exempt from the patronage of dignitaries of the church that so condemned them. It even seems probable that the very institution which laid the ban of disgrace upon prostitution, led to a sensible increase in the practice, just as in the case of masturbation. The same thing will always happen when an attempt is made to force an impossible ideal upon society. However excellent the ideal in the abstract may be, the coercion of the people to fit it often leads to greater moral evils than those whose cure is sought. Before the days of Christianity, prostitution was certainly a common enough thing, but its degrading effects on both men and women were by no means so obvious as in the later times when sexual intercourse was regarded as a religious crime and the sale of the body in prostitution as the eternal damnation of a soul. Then it was that prostitutes became moral lepers, ousted from the world, branded as incurably diseased in soul, and forbidden the consideration meted out to the most unworthy of humanity within the pale of respectability. Social ostracism soon made them, as a class, all that they were regarded as being, since it is impossible to be civilised when the opportunities of civilised life are consistently denied. In this manner prostitution became a social evil of the first magnitude, and one which, given the prevailing conditions of life, is regarded by the most optimistic of Christian and other moralists as a hopelessly irremovable one.

When we examine it in greater detail, we find that the persistence of this disease in the body social is due to two causes, one social and the other economic. From its very origin, prostitution has been due to both social and economic circumstances—the polygamous habits of man and the dependence of women upon men for sustenance. Even when polygamy was the custom, the wandering instincts of man ranged beyond its wide limits and sought satisfaction in the irregular intercourse of prostitution. In these days, too, prostitution afforded a career of comfort and independence which women were not reluctant to adopt, since there was no disgrace attached to it, and its conditions compared favourably with those of married life. When the practice came under the condemnation of Christian morality, the unruly passions of men remained almost unchanged, and the economic dependence of women was even greater than before. Further, the adoption of monogamy restricted the field within which the sex passion could be legally exercised, and thus directly encouraged the natural tendency to extra-marital relations. Against these combined circumstances, the anathemas of the Christian church were powerless; they merely led to the practice being carried on with hypocrisy, shame, and deceit, instead of with frankness and a happy absence of conscientious doubts.

Prostitution is therefore a long-established palliative of marital restrictions, which men will seek so long as they inherit the passional traits of their ancestors, and which women will lend themselves to so long as the struggle for existence presses heavily upon them. It is not, of course, asserted that these are the sole causes of prostitution, or that they alone explain the existence of individual prostitutes. But they are its main generic causes, and explain

the development and existence of prostitution as a social phenomenon. They are interesting as showing the reasons for regarding prostitution as a "necessary evil," and they are valuable as showing the fundamental futility of the organised efforts of purists and other reformers to conquer the "social evil." Like all manifestations of the imperious sex instinct, it has its roots in the inmost recesses of human nature. And it has taken its present form as a result of the evolution of moral ideas and of economic conditions. When these moral ideas alter, its character may change in accordance; when these economic conditions improve, they will affect prostitution in so far as they raise the economic status of women.

In fact, so far as women are concerned, prostitution is really an economic phenomenon. Men resort to prostitutes as a means of sexual gratification; women follow the profession of prostitution mainly as a means of living. The barter of the body for money or goods is the essence of prostitution; and the exchange takes place through the desire of the man and the complaisance of the woman. Her complaisance is generally dictated by the economic necessity which is at the root of so many immoral transactions, not necessarily of a sexual character. The social ostracism of prostitutes is so strong, and their life is in general so devoid of the things that make for happiness, that they can hardly have any merely personal motive other than that afforded by the conditions of the struggle for existence. They are not all essentially depraved in their sexual instincts or indifferent to the prospect of a self-respecting life. They may become so in the course of years of a life of prostitution, but the cause lies more in the nature of that life than in themselves. It is not the mode of life which the majority of them would freely

choose if they had equal opportunities of other means of support. That at least seems clear enough, in the light of the opinions of many who have made a study of the life and character of the prostitute.

III.—With a view to emphasising the importance of the economic factor in prostitution, we shall briefly resume the main characteristics of the *personnel* of the prostitute class. We may begin with those to whom the economic factor is perhaps least important—those who are by nature fitted for a life of more or less promiscuous sexual relations. These are the real prostitutes, and number among them the courtesans who have made a name for themselves in literature and history. Psychologically, they are interesting studies. They stand at the other extreme from the sexually impotent women, possessing a sexual potentiality as much in excess of the average as the capacity of the non-sexual woman is below it. The woman of medium sexual passion is organically satisfied by her intimacy with the medium man; but the courtesan demands more, sometimes displaying polyandrous instincts as intense as those of a confirmed polygamist. She carries on several amours at a time and flits from conquest to conquest in a restless fashion which shows the immense fund of passional energy which she has at her disposal. It is curiously enough, her superior passional nature which gives her the ability to command the attentions of a numerous train of admirers; it is as if an intensely excitable sexual system contributed a superabundance of magnetic attraction to her person. These women have the power of awakening a reciprocal passion in men who are not as a rule susceptible in any marked degree to the sexual impulse or who believed their faithfulness proof against any sensual assaults. Ancient legend

tells of many of their conquests; history bears many records of their supreme power over the wills of men; and in modern times they continue to exercise the same powerful and too often baneful fascination.

Although these prostitutes by nature do not actually form, it would seem, more than a moderate proportion of the prostitute class, they nevertheless have been taken as typical of the whole class by many moralists. All prostitutes are to them courtesans, women of uncurbed passions who make their living by trading their excessive venality, women to whom the life of the prostitute is the only physically satisfying existence. As general grounds, this does not appear to be a just view. Women of excessive venality are exceptions, inevitably so, since for countless generations the vast bulk of women who have carried on the race have been habituated to a single mate, and in a preponderating number of cases have had to share that mate with a number of other women. They are certainly striking exceptions, but are no more typical of their sex or class than the rake is in the case of the male sex. It is not difficult to find among the ranks of public prostitutes women who have been led there by their hyper-sensuality. But it is possible to find many more who do not betray any greater sexual capacity than the average woman. Their adoption of the life of prostitution was dictated by much more material considerations than an organic peculiarity.

It may be objected that, if these women are sexually normal, they are wonderfully able to endure the sexual excesses which their mode of life entails. They certainly are, though cases of breakdown through excess are by no means unknown among them. But the reason of their exceptional power in this respect does not lie with them individually, but with their sex. Women may engage in

sexual intercourse with little or no excitation of the nervous system. Their *rôle* in the sexual act is a passive one, while that of the man is essentially an active one and implies a considerable expenditure of nervous energy. It is even possible, it is asserted, for women to conceive without having ever experienced the sexual orgasm. The promiscuous connections of prostitutes can bring them little pleasure, even of a mere physical kind; and it is therefore likely that many of them experience the orgasm only in a small proportion of instances. The sexual excess, is thus more apparent than real; there is no strain on the nervous system at all comparable with that which the same amount of intercourse would impose upon a man. The principal instances of the evils of sexual excess in women are to be found in those newly-married, where each coitus carries with it the maximum amount of nervous excitation.

From the little that is certain about the prostitute class, it appears that they are sexually not different in a notable degree from other women. They take up the life of prostitution for exactly the same reasons that women adopt any other career which promises them independence and money. If they are deluded with the idea that their existence is to be a life of pleasure, they are not long in being disillusioned; sooner or later the merely economic side of their position is uppermost.

Prostitution is like all other trades in having its gradations from success to failure; and in this particular case the gradations are interesting and instructive. They include all the steps from the fashionable prostitute to the lowest classes to whom prostitution is simply an instrument of crime. The first class of prostitute touches at its highest point the status of mistress, the woman who is maintained by a man after the manner of a concubine, and who does

not, or is not supposed to, admit other lovers. A little lower in the scale is the woman who has a clientèle limited to two or three, or who is maintained by one man and adds surreptitiously to her income by admitting other men. The next step brings us to those women, usually living by themselves, who have a larger clientèle but who still select their partners and do not, except under pressure of want, give themselves to more public choice. Many prostitutes who employ the usual public means of attracting customers maintain a menage of their own; but a large number live together in brothels kept for profit by the proprietor, openly in countries where such things are tolerated, and under a disguise where the police regulations are more strict or more puritanical. These brothels are of all classes, from those which are frequented by an outwardly respectable and well-to-do class, to the lowest where the women sell themselves for a few pence, and as often as not take the opportunity of adding to their gains by stealing.

With such a wide range of habits and methods it seems invidious to speak of the prostitute as if she formed a class as distinct in moral character as the criminal. Prostitutes are certainly a class apart, inasmuch as their peculiar trade marks them off from the bulk of women; but within that class there is found an endless variety of moral character. They are indeed much less different from the average woman than is commonly imagined, and the actual differences are due mainly to the conditions of their life. Social ostracism and police supervision are bound to have a hardening effect on the character, an effect which is emphasised by the nature of the sexual associations by which these women make their living. It is their constant endeavour, their business in fact, to simulate passions which

they do not feel; and they are obliged to love in an atmosphere of irresponsible sensuality which is abhorrent to all save the most lascivious natures. As a rule they are only the basest elements in human nature, the elements of unbridled lust and selfishness. They are so generally regarded as being outside the moral pale, that to defraud or ill-use them is hardly recognised as a crime; with the result that they are habitually suspicious and treat everybody as a possible enemy. Their constant simulation of feelings which they do not experience makes untruthfulness almost a business necessity with them; the more skilful among them become so adept in the art of constant lying that it is almost impossible to detect them, even under severe cross-examination. It may indeed be said that this habit is the outstanding moral feature of the prostitute. In courts of law a prostitute's evidence, even though it relates to matters quite outside her personal affairs, where it might be prudent for her to conceal the truth, is always treated with distrust and may be even discounted altogether.

The prostitute has, in fact, to lead a life which, both in its essential nature and in its treatment by society, is calculated to undermine the strongest moral nature and to induce an habitual attitude of suspicion and bitterness. The continual mockery of honest affection which they experience is the ultimate source of their moral degradation; but the ostracism to which they are subjected is of equal, if not greater, importance. The position which prostitutes held in ancient civilisations like that of Greece shows clearly enough that the life of prostitution is by itself not such a moral curse as has been imagined.

A more striking instance is afforded by a class of women in the present day who, though not prostitutes in the

accepted sense, nevertheless enter into the sexual relation upon very much the same basis. These are the women who marry for money, home, position, or any other reason than that of affection. They barter their bodies and their services for the same sort of material compensation as the prostitute receives for her complaisances; and they do so from very much the same motive. The sole moral differences between the two are that the married woman goes through a ceremony with which the prostitute dispenses, and that the wife limits, or contracts to limit, her relations to her legal partner. In the eyes of society, the ceremony makes all the difference between a perfectly proper transaction and a vilely immoral act. It is evidently of no moral importance that the couple at the altar swear a loyalty and affection which they do not feel, or that the children they bear are the outcome of a passion no higher than the lust of the prostitute. The contract is in order; the marriage law has been honoured; there is nothing more to be demanded. Nothing more, that is, than the mutual affection which is the sole sanctification of all sexual relations whatsoever.

There could be no better illustration than this of the extent to which marriage has become a superstition. We have already touched upon that point; it is important in this connection because it shows the vast influence which the general attitude of society has upon the moral results of a certain mode of life. From an independent moral standpoint, prostitution and marriage without love are essentially the same. In reality their results on the individual are immensely different. The prostitute is slowly degraded, losing her honesty and self-respect; what we may call the prostitute-wife is, on the contrary, able to maintain her position in her former society, and often

suffers little or nothing in deterioration of moral fibre. The reason is that the latter, in nine cases out of ten, has no sense of the moral degradation of her position. She is conscious only that she is doing what her fellow-creatures condone or approve; she knows that hundreds of other respected women have done exactly the same thing. So she maintains her self-respect—a quality which is greatly dependent on the opinion of others. And with her self-respect she maintains all those moral excellencies which her less fortunate or less circumspect sister loses under the constant hate and despidal of the world.

It would seem, therefore, that if we are to condemn as utterly base the woman who sells herself for money, we shall have to include a fair proportion of married women in the verdict, unless we take up the conventional moral standpoint from which the formal ceremony of marriage covers a multitude of sins. How many marriages are dictated by other than the one moral motive, it would be impossible to estimate, but they are certainly among those things that “happen every day.” To convict all prostitute-wives of moral iniquity would be to throw a very sinister light on the moral state of respectable society. We are forced to recognise that the moral support of society is a buttress which can replace the inner and independent conviction of moral rectitude; that society can, by its consistent blinking of deep moral truths, turn evil into good or at least ward off many of the ill effects of a fundamentally immoral mode of life. It has done so in the case of the prostitute-wife; and by its refusal to do likewise in the case of the other class of prostitute, it has doubled the degradation which follows from partaking in sexual relationships where there is nothing higher than physical impulse or the desire of material gain.

Certainly we have here one of the most striking inconsistencies of conventional morality. The time has gone past when a mere ceremony can really sanctify what is base and transform lust and greed into the sincerity of sexual affection. If to enter into sexual connections with a man for a solely material end is a disgrace to humanity, it is a disgrace under the marriage bond just as much as apart from the hypocritical blessing of the church or the law. If the public prostitute is a being who deserves to be treated as a pariah, it is hopelessly irrational to withhold every sort of moral opprobrium from the woman who leads a similar life under a different set of external circumstances. Either the prostitute-wife must come under the moral ban, or there must be an end to the complete ostracism under which the prostitute labours. There is no possibility of holding both courses consistently, for they are morally contradictory. But there is no likelihood that society as a whole will recognise the inconsistency and seek to remove it. The moral leprosy of prostitution and the sanctity of the marriage bond are too firmly rooted in the faith of the people; and in all probability the prostitute-wife will continue to be honoured as a thoroughly reputable individual, and the prostitute forced into the slough of degradation by every harsh means which the respectable world can command.

IV.—To the moral effects which follow from the simulation and sensuality of the life of prostitution must be added certain physical effects, likewise of a direct and indirect kind. The most important of the direct effects is the sterility which is characteristic of the prostitute. It is a comparatively rare thing for a public prostitute to bear children. Promiscuous intercourse, particularly when it is excessive, seems not only to make the primary act of

successful conception difficult, but it frequently leads to abortion, which occurs as a rule at an early period of pregnancy. Venereal excess also leads to irregularity of menstruation, another obstacle to the proper functioning of the reproductive organs. In addition to these causes there is the obstructive effect of the venereal diseases to which prostitutes are so largely subject. Gonorrhœa and syphilis, the two most prevalent diseases of the genital organs, are highly contagious; and the promiscuous intercourse of prostitutes obviously places them in constant danger of contracting these diseases. Prostitutes not only suffer frequently from them, but they themselves are the commonest source of contagion, a fact whose practical significance will be discussed shortly.

It is not uncommon for prostitutes, especially those of the better class, to supplement these natural, and often violent, agents of sterility by the use of preventive measures which sometimes serve the double purpose of obviating conception and warding off contagion. The nature of these preventive measures is discussed in another chapter; they are touched upon here because they have a direct bearing upon one of the most difficult of practical social problems in relation to prostitution—that is, the regulation of the practice so as to prevent the spread of venereal disease. If these hygienic measures were habitually adopted by prostitutes, the necessity for legal interference with their affairs would cease, and a very troublesome puzzle would be solved. But prostitutes are naturally no better than the rest of people in the matter of personal hygiene; and they will, through mere laziness, run the risk of contracting diseases whose effects are most disastrous, and whose cure is in many cases exceedingly difficult. Therefore unless they are obliged to keep them-

selves in a state of bodily health, they become a source of general contagion and a menace to the public health. In this and some other countries, no steps are taken by the health authorities to check this continual spread of venereal infection; but in other countries, notably in France, the matter has been regarded as an ordinary matter of public health and dealt with accordingly.

The system employed in Paris is the familiar one of registration and inspection. Every inmate of a brothel, every woman openly plying the trade of a prostitute, is obliged to be registered in the police books and to submit to inspection at regular intervals by a medical man. If any traces of disease are discovered, the women are forbidden to exercise their calling, and are placed under medical treatment.

In this way it is rendered fairly certain that those included in this scheme of supervision are not venereally affected; but the unfortunate thing is that only a proportion of prostitutes can be included. It is practically impossible to discover the habitat of every woman who gives herself to promiscuous intercourse for hire, since so many of them are careful to conceal the fact. The authorities have, moreover, to be careful to make no mistake in the matter by acting on mere suspicion. Thus many prostitutes are altogether outside this hygienic scheme, and its range of efficacy is limited by that extent.

Something more might be done if gonorrhœa and syphilis were put in the same category as other contagious diseases, and if it were made a punishable offence to knowingly communicate them to another person. But before any such drastic measures could be employed—before, indeed, any measures at all could be agreed to—it would be necessary to effect a considerable change in

public opinion, at least in this country. The violent discussions which have raged round the Contagious Diseases Acts show plainly enough that there is an immense amount of opposition to any police control of the spread of venereal contagion. So far the discussion has centred mainly in the efforts to prevent the spread of venereal diseases amongst soldiers. The conditions of barrack life are such that irregular sexual intercourse is certain to be resorted to by a large proportion of soldiers, and thus no military station is free from a class of prostitutes who ply their trade principally among the soldiers and communicate the diseases which have so lamentable an effect in sapping the manhood of a large proportion of our defensive force.

The effort to establish laws by which this source of contagion could be purified has been met with an angry outcry against the immorality of what is called the "state regulation of vice." No phrase could be more untrue or more insidious in its effect on public opinion. It is not vice which is regulated, but the condition of a social class which constitutes a vital danger to the general health. As regards its soldiers at any rate, the state has really nothing to do with prostitution as a vice, but it has everything to do with so strong a menace to the health of its defensive rank and file as the existence of a notorious group of women who are the acknowledged centre of direct physical evil. In recognising the existence of prostitution as a deleterious institution and in seeking to limit its influence, the state is not recognising the moral right of prostitution to exist. It merely recognises its existence, its inevitable existence, and endeavours to protect its servants from its harmful effects. Nothing could well be worse than the conditions of our army under the present system of unregulated prostitution, but our ostrich-like morality insists that the *status*

quo shall be retained until the soldier is educated above the temptation of illicit intercourse—that is, until the nature of the average man is entirely altered, or, to use the metaphor of the soldiers' apostle, when single men in barracks become plaster saints.

The question of prostitution as a source of contagion is one which it is unnecessary to treat in detail here; it is sufficient for our immediate purpose to note that the prevalence of venereal diseases among prostitutes is one of the principal causes of their own physical degeneration. A less direct but still important influence in the same direction is the tendency to excessive drinking which is so common a characteristic of the prostitute. This tendency is encouraged partly by the life they lead among men who seek them often at times when they themselves are bent upon dissipation, partly by the natural desire for some physical excitement which will relieve for a time the weight of the sordid misery of their lives and help to remove the feeling of almost physical repulsion which the sexual act often induces. Alcohol is one of the best allies of venereal disease in assisting the wreck of the system; and the physical ruin of the prostitute is more often due to the combined influence of drink and disease than to the influence of sexual excess or promiscuous intercourse.

In fact, the prostitute who is careful in the matter of contagion and who is temperate in her habits, is frequently a much more healthy person, physically, than the average celibate woman. The former leads a more natural life; her instincts have free play, and her opportunities for change and travel encourage her in a more active and interesting existence. The popular idea that a prostitute ends her career by an early death appears to be a fallacy. Many women carry on their trade under the ordinary con-

ditions for several decades; with many others, prostitution is simply an interlude which is concluded by marriage or by the adoption of some other profession. Anything like certain information on the subject is lacking, but the opinion of authorities is fairly unanimous on the point that the death-rate among prostitutes is not conspicuously higher than the average. It would be remarkable, indeed, if it were higher than that of many women workers such as seamstresses, factory hands, and others who pass both day and night in the most unhealthy surroundings.

Intellectually the prostitute class are generally behind the bulk of women, partly because few women of keen intelligence would adopt, or be led into, a career which promises such hollow satisfaction and superficial prosperity, partly because their mode of life is not one which demands any effort that might be called intellectual. Courtesans are perhaps an exception. They are usually possessed of a large measure of native wit, which enables them to employ their physical attractions to the best advantage. In ancient times, moreover, when prostitution was not the subject of moral opprobrium, prostitutes were in some cases a great deal more highly educated than their married sisters, who had far less freedom and opportunity for learning than the independent prostitute. But under the moral regime of the present day, there is a certain measure of intellectual deterioration to be added to the moral and physical degradation already discussed.

V.—While the prostitute herself presents a social problem of considerable importance, she is the centre of another and greater problem through her influence on those who have dealings with her. There are thousands of prostitutes, but tens of thousands of men who resort to them. The prostitute is, in fact, a recognised factor in

the solution, or attempted solution, of the sexual problem ; and it is in that light we have now to examine her claims and her position.

The first point of importance is the fact—too seldom recognised at its real value—that the clientèle of prostitutes generally includes a strong proportion of married men. Prostitution, as an institution, arose as a palliative of the exclusiveness of the marital bond ; and it continues so at the present day. Not only do many married men find themselves unable to restrain their sexual activity within the recognised limits, but their general polygamous tendency is aggravated by the necessity, or at least the advisability, of continence during the later months of pregnancy, and even in some cases by the common refusal of women to admit sexual intercourse during the menstrual period. Prostitution, therefore, has as near a relation to the marriage problem as to that of celibacy ; and it may be taken as exercising a real or latent influence on the whole adult male sex.

Of the physical influence, little need be said. We have already discussed the beneficial effects of sexual intercourse on the system, and there is no doubt that prostitution, in so far as it affords a relief for nervous oppression and genital stagnation, is a source of real benefit. In many cases, indeed, it is this benefit alone which is sought. It forms the justification for prostitution with those who find little or no pleasure, even of a physical kind, in such a method of sexual gratification. The associations of the act of prostitution are an offence to a refined moral and æsthetic nature ; nevertheless such natures often have recourse to it, in view of the physical sanity and comfort which follow it. Prostitution, in fact, affords the readiest and simplest means of satisfying the organic demands.

It answers them more completely than masturbation, and is altogether more satisfactory from a physiological point of view.

It is, of course, handicapped by the continual risk of genital disease. The fear of such disease often takes the place of moral arguments in restraining a man from prostitution, and it has thus an indirect moral value which some people value highly. But with the average sexually vigorous man, the fear of disease is comparatively ineffective. He is usually more willing to take the chance than to leave his desires unsatisfied; in nine cases out of ten he does take the chance, even though he may have suffered severely through diseases contracted on former occasions. The prevalence of venereal troubles among men is sufficient answer to the hope that the spectre of disease is an effective warning against the temptations of the courtesan. Moreover, in instances where it does deter from prostitution, it merely opens the door to solitary indulgence or to some form of illicit intercourse whose effects on the moral health may be greater and more lasting than those even of prostitution.

Physiologically speaking, therefore, there is much more good than harm in the occasional promiscuous intercourse of prostitution, if we omit the accidental factor of venereal disease. The strikingly evil effects which give it the title of "the social evil" appear only when we consider it from the standpoint afforded by the sexual act in its ideal form. The act of prostitution may be physiologically complete, but it is complete in no other sense. All the moral and intellectual factors which combine with physical desire to form the perfect sexual attraction are absent. All the higher elements of love—admiration, respect, honour, and self-sacrificing devotion—are as foreign to prostitution as

to the egoistic act of masturbation. Brute desire is the main impulse to the act; it alone is satisfied, while the emotional nature is starved. Therefore, in an individual who appreciates the emotional possibilities of sexual intercourse on an affectional basis, disgust follows readily upon the promiscuous connection, and may, if the connection is repeated, gradually deprive the intimacies of sex of their emotional colouring and present them merely as sordid means for the satisfaction of base and unbeautiful passions.

Nevertheless, the absence of worthy emotional elements in the act of prostitution is only a negative disadvantage. It is undoubtedly a vital disadvantage, but were it the sole and most positively harmful one, it might be combated by the conviction, which most civilised men possess, that love is something more than sensuality. The principal drawbacks to the morality of the act, lie in its associations more than in the act itself.

It is, in the first place, associated with a commercial transaction which places the woman at once on the lowest material level. Any affectional quality which a more or less promiscuous connection might possess is at once destroyed by the intrusion of the monetary element. Even the spontaneity of the natural instinct is lost, since the woman is actuated by purely practical motives and the man selects his partner with a deliberation and suspicion which are in no way akin to the methods of impetuous passion. In the resulting degradation the woman has the largest share, since it makes her a pariah and involves her in all the hardening and depraving influences of social ostracism. But her degradation only serves to render her influence on her partners more demoralising. They are necessarily affected by the character of the women with whom they

have such intimate relations, and as many men gain their first experience of sex life within the brothel, we may well believe that it is it which is responsible for the commonly sensual and egotistical nature of sex-feeling in men. It may not be, and in many instances certainly is not, altogether responsible, but it has a strong tendency towards emphasising the naturally selfish attitude of men towards women, and encouraging them in the delusion, born of unregulated passion, that the sexual act itself is the aim and end of the sex life. In reality the sexual act is no more than the condition—though the essential one—of that perfect dual intimacy which is the aim of human beings in their sex-life. But from the point of view of the brothel it appears as the paramount phenomenon of sexuality, and thus assumes an exaggerated importance. And the direct effect of prostitution is to enforce that distorted view of sexuality, thus eliminating all the higher emotional and intellectual elements that go to form the complexus of the sex passion.

Prostitution can therefore make no claim to afford even a temporary solution to the sex problem. It fulfils only that mission which has made it a “necessary evil”—the mission of palliative to the physical rigours of celibacy and monogamy. It does so at the cost of a considerable amount of physical and moral deterioration, much of which is undoubtedly due to the action of society in completing the degradation of the prostitute by persistent ostracism. Prostitution was not so great an evil when it was not thought so great, yet even at its best it was a real evil, a melancholy and sordid travesty of sincere and natural passionate relations. It is an evil which we are bound to have with us so long as celibacy is a custom and monogamy a law, so long, indeed, as the inherited sexual capacities of

men extend beyond the narrow bounds of legitimate unions.

It must not be forgotten, however, that in its present and historic forms it is rendered possible only by the fact of woman's economic dependence. The hope for the future therefore lies not in social faulty movements or in enthusiastic efforts to bind the uncontrollable passions of man, but in giving woman that economic security which will enable her to dispense with the necessity or the inducement to sacrifice so much of her being for so thankless an existence. Woman, in short, is not likely to be free and a prostitute at the same time; the two states have too little in common. Therefore the social evil will be reduced to vanishing point when economic progress has reached that point at which it will not be to a woman's material profit to give for money that which has in nature no price.

CHAPTER V.

SEXUAL INVERSION.

- I.—Inversion defined—Its relation to debauchery—Inversion in animals—Two kinds of inversion: inborn and accidental—Inversion in ancient times—Influence of Christianity—Modern scientific study of the invert.
- II.—The constitutional invert—Havelock Ellis's cases—Inversion an organic twist—Can inversion be acquired?—The invert as he sees himself—Organic origin of inversion—Inversion an abnormality—The invert and the criminal—High intellectual capability of typical invert.
- III.—The casual invert—Homosexuality and the military life—Influence of school life—Male prostitution—Love disappointment a cause of homosexuality—The cure of the casual invert.
- IV.—The cure of the constitutional invert—Schrenck-Notzing's treatment—A real cure impossible—Its social inadvisability—Inversion and chastity—The true ideal for the invert.
- V.—Inversion and the law—Homosexuality under the Code Napoléon—Under the English law—The repressive effect of legal penalties considered—Arguments against legal interference—Homosexuality as an offence against taste—The law and public opinion—The future of inversion.

I.—Sexual inversion—that is, the turning-in of the sex instinct towards individuals of the same sex—is an abnormal phenomenon which has no relation to the practical solution of the sex problem by the normally constituted person. But it possesses so many points of psychological interest and aids so well—as pathology aids physiology—in throwing light upon the nature and mechanism of or-

dinary sex manifestations, that it deserves detailed attention even in outlining a science of sex. Further, the inverted sexual act has the distinction of being the only physical sex manifestation which is regarded by the law of this country as being in itself criminal. All other sexual acts which come within the law are criminal only under certain circumstances, as where violence is used or the connection takes place between certain related parties. The reasons for this distinction lie partly in the phenomenon itself, which is eminently calculated to excite a strong feeling of disgust, and partly in the misconceptions of its essential nature which are present in the minds of both legislators and the general public.

Sexual inversion is widely regarded as the result of sexual debauchery. The "invert" is looked upon as an individual whose sexual instinct has become so depraved by excessive sexual intercourse that it can find satisfaction only in homosexual intercourse, as carnal intimacy with a member of the same sex is called. The view is correct enough in a large number of cases, but it by no means affords a general rule, and certainly does not apply to a sensible proportion of the cases which come under the notice of the police. In these cases there is not only no evidence of excessive venery, but very good evidence that the individual never even engaged in the sexual relations whose excess is held to be the cause of his abnormality. True sexual inversion has, we shall see, no relation whatever to the debauchery of the *roué* and the prostitute; it is the result, not of vicious habit, but of a deep-seated organic twist which is as much an inborn pre-disposition as the normal sex instinct itself.

Sexual inversion has not been studied to any extent in animals, but it appears to be a not unfrequent phenomenon

among them, even in a native state. Such observations as have been made relate mainly to domesticated animals, pigeons, hens, dogs, etc. There are cases on record of pigeons which indulged in inverted practices in the presence of the other sex; and also of hens and female ducks which assumed the extreme features of the male and endeavoured to couple with individuals of their own sex. These are instances of true inversion, and they would probably be multiplied considerably in other species if an extended study were made.

The other and more numerous cases recorded are cases of temporary inverted tendencies caused by isolation from the opposite sex. Rams, bulls, and dogs which have been deprived of normal intercourse for some time seek to relieve the sexual excitement either by some form of masturbation or by attempts at coupling with other males. There is nothing deep-seated in these perversions, as the presence of the other sex immediately brings the animal back to the normal plane. They are merely the result of accidental circumstances.

These two kinds of inversion have their parallels among human beings, some of whom have an organic tendency towards homosexual practices, others resorting to them only as one of the available forms of sexual gratification in the absence of the other sex. To what extent each cause contributed to homosexual habits in ancient savage and barbaric nations, it would be impossible to say; but as true inversion is not at present a very frequent phenomenon, it may be assumed that the inverted practices which were so prevalent in some countries in the past were due to the latter and more common cause. These practices were most frequent among military nations, where groups of men were separated from women for long periods and

were thus naturally led into homosexual relations. In ancient Greece homosexuality was recognised as almost a national custom; and, far from being condemned as base and immoral, was exalted as the source and stimulant of heroic virtues. Such nations as the ancient Normans were likewise noted for their adoption of inverted habits. Military life, indeed, seems particularly fitted to encourage these habits; and even in the present day the barracks are by no means innocent of a tendency in the same direction.

In some ancient countries, on the other hand, intercourse between men was regarded as an offence and punished with sometimes extreme severity. Ancient Mexico and Peru are cases in point, while the scriptural instance of Sodom and Gomorrah illustrates the attitude of the ancient Hebrews. It may seem remarkable that in such primitive societies, where there was a large measure of freedom in sexual matters, capital punishment of individuals, and even the wholesale destruction of towns, should be regarded as the fit punishment for an aberration of the sex instinct. But it ceases to be remarkable when we consider that the chief object of such nations was to multiply as rapidly as possible. A practice such as homosexual intercourse, being sterile, necessarily became an anti-social offence of the first degree, and was discouraged by all the efforts of law and religion.

The diminution of population which marked the decadence of Rome was, partly at least, due to the spread of homosexuality; and as the doctrines of Christianity took hold at about the same period, religious opposition was added to the social effort to stem the increase of the habit. In this way the social prejudice against homosexuality was so much strengthened, that at the present day it is condemned, not so much from the point of view of population,

as from the point of view dictated by religious and moral considerations. Sodomy has become, not an anti-social offence, but an offence against the moral law.

Sexual inversion is therefore one of our heritages from our animal and from our human ancestors. And our present opinions on the subject are the outcome of the ideas with which religion and social necessity inspired our predecessors. These opinions are still progressing; and they are likely to enter shortly upon a period of rapid movement. Religious verdicts on moral questions have ceased to possess the power which they once had, although the prejudices they evoked are not easily effaced from the conservative human mind. Moreover, the social necessity which caused the original opposition to homosexuality is no longer so pressing, since there is not the same call for rapid increase of population, nor is homosexuality so prevalent or so persistent as to have a serious effect in diminishing the birth-rate.

A third and still more important factor in altering public opinion on this question is the recent attainment, through the labours of Krafft-Ebing, Raffalovich, Havelock Ellis, and others, of a clear understanding of the real nature of sexual inversion. Until the invert was made the object of dispassionate study, he was almost an unknown quantity, as far as his composition, his feelings, motives, and capabilities, were concerned. He was merely an object of disgust—which implied that he was misunderstood. Under the light of scientific investigation he has revealed himself as a being altogether different from what the popular imagination pictured him.

II.—It must be stated, however, that we are here referring to the individuals who are constitutionally predisposed to homosexuality, not to those who, possessed of

normal sexual feelings, resort to homosexual practices under the stress of circumstances or through mere coarseness of sensuality. The former constitute, as already mentioned, the true inverts. They are almost as far apart from the normal men and women who casually adopt homosexual practices as from those who have had normal experiences only.

As in the case of most other aberrations of the sex instinct, this investigation has been carried on mainly by Continental psychologists. Practically the only treatise of note in the English language is that of Havelock Ellis. Its main value lies in its interesting collection of representative cases of inversion, and in the conclusions which the author draws as to the moral status of inverts. We shall reserve the consideration of these conclusions, and outline in the first place the facts elicited by the cases recorded.

Three important truths are made clear by an analysis of the characters and careers of inverts:—(1) the inverted sex instinct is due to an organic twist which is inborn and in most cases incurable; (2) the invert as a rule regards his or her attraction towards the same sex in much the same light as the normal individual regards his or her attraction towards the opposite sex; and (3) the invert possesses in a large number of cases none of the characteristics of the criminal, and is even distinguished by unusual intellectual and emotional capacities.

The first of these points is one which is now very firmly established. It affords a most emphatic contradiction to the common opinion that inversion is an acquired vice peculiar to the worst class of the sexually debauched. There is no doubt that the true invert is born an invert. In the normal individual, the sex instinct before and at the

time of puberty does not take any particular bias towards either sex; it is very much a diffused sentiment which expends itself equally in affectionate relations with both sexes. But after puberty it converges naturally towards the opposite sex and continues in the same direction throughout life.

In the abnormal invert, the case is quite different. At the age of puberty the diffused sentiment converges on the same sex just as naturally and inevitably as the normal instinct acts in the former case, though on so distinct an object. The invert feels himself attracted to members of his own sex by the same passionate feelings; and he is no more able to crush his homosexual feelings than the normal person his heterosexual feelings. Both kinds of feeling are equally inborn and equally independent of the will of the individual, either to alter or to eradicate them.

So emphatic is this inborn character of the inverted sexual instinct that there is hardly any reliable case on record of *acquired inversion*, that is, of the normal instinct being forced by circumstances to become permanently misdirected into homosexual channels. The nearest approach to acquired inversion is what is called "psycho-sexual hermaphroditism," in which there is attraction towards both sexes. It is much more rare than simple inversion, and none of the cases quoted by Havelock Ellis can be accepted as showing conclusively that an equal attraction towards both sexes can exist in an individual. The real state of the matter seems to be that the inverts in question were forced, by example and moral influence, into a more or less spurious affection for the opposite sex. Thus it is not the inverted tendency that is acquired, but the normal tendency; and the acquisition is so incomplete and unsatisfactory that considerable doubt is thrown on the possibility

of reversing either the normal or the inverted instinct into its opposite. It is certainly difficult, on general grounds alone, to imagine an ordinary healthy affection for the other sex transformed by any means whatsoever into an abnormal exclusive homosexual attraction.

The fact that the invert is as a rule born with that peculiar twist in his nature which develops after puberty into an inverted tendency, makes it easy to understand that he will regard that tendency as an altogether natural and indeed *normal* tendency, so far as he himself is concerned. What comes naturally is bound to be considered as natural. And not only does the invert consider his homosexual affection to be as natural as the normal heterosexual affection, but the inverted affection reproduces all the characteristics—passion, devotion, jealousy, tenderness, and so on—of normal love. It is almost astonishing to note the faithfulness with which the attitude of the invert towards his partner imitates that of the lover to his mistress. The following passage from the autobiography of an invert (included among Havelock Ellis's cases) is quite typical:—

“All that I have read in books or heard spoken about the ordinary sexual love, its intensity and passion, life-long devotion, love at first sight, etc., seems to me to be easily matched by my own experiences in the homosexual form; and with regard to the morality of this complex subject, my feeling is that it is the same as should prevail in love between man and woman—namely, that no bodily satisfaction should be sought at the cost of another person's distress or degradation. I am sure that this kind of love is, notwithstanding the physical difficulties that attend it, as deeply stirring and ennobling as the other kind, if not more so; and I think that for a perfect relationship the actual sex gratifications (whatever they may be) probably

hold a less important place in this love than in the other."

From the invert's own point of view, therefore, there is nothing that is degrading and everything that is ennobling in his homosexual loves. When he does endeavour to crush his abnormal inclinations, it is generally because he is aware of the attitude of society on the matter and is influenced by its almost unanimous condemnation. Some of the cases recorded betray a very bitter struggle between strong inverted affection and a conscience prompted by social opinion. The finer-matured inverts seem to find a compromise in homosexual affections which are free from any marked physical manifestations. They are able to do this the more readily, as the inverted instinct does not appear to be so strong, generally speaking, as the normal instinct. The case just quoted is representative in this particular. The perverted instinct is no less sure and persistent than the normal, but it lacks that intense passionate character which makes ordinary love irresistibly seek its outcome in physical intimacy. This is, of course, not always the case, as instances may be found of the same unreasoning jealousy and the same distraction at parting which show the strong passional nature of normal love. But it is a fairly average phenomenon, and is indeed what might have been expected from the nature of inversion itself.

It is by no means easy to give a definition of sexual inversion. To say that it is the turning-in of the sex instinct towards the same sex is to describe it, not to explain it. Various theories have been advanced, from the untenable one that it is due entirely to suggestion, or a sort of hypnotism of the affections, to Ulrich's fantastic hypothesis of a female soul in a male body, and *vice versâ*. But none of them possesses any sound scientific basis except that adopted by Havelock Ellis and other authorities.

Sexual inversion seems, in short, to be a result of the bi-sexuality or hermaphroditism of the human being in its embryonic condition. In our chapter on the evolution of sex it was noted that hermaphroditism was one of the stages in the development of separate sexes; and as the human embryo reproduces, in its individual growth, the main steps in the evolution of the species, it passes through the bi-sexual stage before its particular sex is clearly defined. That is, up to a certain point in its period of growth in the womb, the embryo is neither male nor female; and there is, to all appearances, as much chance of its developing into a male as into a female.

What eventually determines the sex is not known; the important point for the present discussion is that it is for a time undetermined. Havelock Ellis expresses the situation in the convenient figure of speech that the organism, at conception, possesses about fifty per cent. of germs of each sex. In the ordinary way, nearly all the male or all the female germs are killed out as development proceeds; but in the case of the invert, events do not follow this simple course. Some peculiarities either in the number or character of the original germs lead to the formation of "a person who is organically twisted into a shape that is more fitted for the exercise of the inverted than of the normal sexual impulse."

The invert is therefore a variation from the normal line of development—in one word, an abnormality. Most of the evidences of his abnormality are psychical, being displayed by his thoughts and feelings rather than by any physical signs. But the physical signs are not always wanting. Male inverts are apt to possess a certain effeminacy of appearance; and the masculine characteristics of the female invert are frequently so marked as to readily

permit an effective male disguise. The sexual organs themselves show a tendency to be more or less undeveloped; and this feature, taken along with the other characteristics of the invert, seems to show that inversion is a result of arrest of development, a process which may be connected with the struggle between the metaphorical male and female germs in the embryo.

Arrest of development is generally associated with precocity; and a tendency has been noted for the sexual instinct to develop early among inverts. Sexual precocity has, further, a direct influence in encouraging the perverted tendency. The early exercise of the sexual functions weakens their activity, and so produces that feebleness which we have already seen is associated with the inverted instinct. It has also been remarked that genital feebleness is apt to lead to inverted habits. The exhaustion produced by excessive masturbation, or by over-indulgence in normal sexual intercourse, is in many cases a real cause of the adoption of homosexual practices. These practices demand less definite physical acts than normal intercourse, and are therefore better suited to enfeebled systems. Homosexuality is common among prostitutes, partly by reason of the excessive venery in which they are obliged to indulge and partly by reason of the disgust for normal intercourse which the nature of their calling inspires. It is therefore clear that there is considerable justification for the popular association of inversion and debauchery, though it is no less clear that sexual excess is only a secondary cause of inversion. It does not, indeed, produce true inverts, but a class of people whose once normal instincts have become diseased by continued vicious habits.

The true invert, in fact, has nothing essentially in

common with the debauchee, or with the vicious of any class. This brings us to the third truth which is revealed by the scientific study of the subject. Although the invert is in this country treated as a criminal, he is as distinct from the criminal as he is from the lunatic. The roll of inverts includes some of the most honoured names in history, philosophy, literature, and art. Alexander the Great, Socrates, Julius Cæsar, Michelangelo, and Verlaine are a few amongst the most familiar names of those distinguished men who may be safely credited with homosexual tendencies. The modern instances collected by various investigators show a very high standard of intellectual capacity, so high as to justify the assertion that an unusual degree of intellectual power is characteristic of the invert. The general temperament of the invert is of an over-sensitive and nervous kind, which is precisely that which is so often associated with exceptional intellectual ability. Genius is akin to a somewhat ill-balanced nervous organisation; and such an organisation is a characteristic accompaniment of the abnormality of inversion. Therefore it is not a matter of surprise that homosexuality is more than an occasional phenomenon among the aristocracy of intellect; it would be a matter of surprise if the reverse were the case.

The nervous trait in the character of the invert frequently betrays itself in a higher emotional capacity than the average individual possesses. The dramatic profession has a larger proportion of inverts than perhaps any other, and the reason seems to lie in this peculiarity of the invert. His emotional sensitiveness enables him to enter into and express the various emotions which the actor endeavours to convey; his range is wider and his perception and sympathy keener. He has, moreover, to be an actor almost

constantly in his daily life, through the effort to conceal his abnormality from the notice of others. Havelock Ellis further remarks on the vanity and love of applause which are so frequently found with dramatic aptitude, and are, like it, evidence of nervous abnormality. Such vanity seems to be if anything more acute in the invert than in the normally constituted person; in individual cases of inversion it is certainly carried to a much higher pitch than is at all common in the normal class.

In whatever light, therefore, we may regard the physical practices which are associated with inversion, the inversion itself is not a phenomenon which is either immoral or criminal. Being, in the cases considered, a congenital abnormality, the individual displaying it cannot be considered responsible for it. He is certainly responsible for the manner in which he exercises his inverted affection, just as the normal individual is held in account for his sexual acts and principles. Other things apart, no distinction on the moral score can be drawn between the ordinary and the inverted sexual natures, and whatever justification there may be for regarding the invert as a criminal, it must depend upon the proved anti-social character of specific acts.

III.—Before discussing the general attitude of society and the law towards inversion, it will be necessary to give some particulars regarding the other and more numerous class of persons addicted to homosexual practices. This class includes those who may be called inverts by accident or circumstance, as distinguished from inverts who are by nature incapable of, or adverse to, the sexual relations of normal beings. They are quite normal, both in physical constitution and emotional disposition, and are quite capable of engaging in ordinary sexual intercourse. Their

adoption of homosexual practices is generally due to one or both of two causes—(1) separation from the other sex; and (2) grossness of emotional fibre, which makes them to a certain extent indifferent to the method by which sexual gratification is obtained.

We have already noted that military nations in the past were particularly prone to inverted habits, since with them groups of men and boys were in close intimacy, and deprived of the company of women. In the present day, whenever a similar situation occurs, the same thing results. It is safe to assume that an average collection of boys and men will not refrain from sexual practices of some sort if normal intercourse is for any reason out of the question. Masturbation is a common form of sexual relief, but where there are frequent opportunities for close intimacy (as in schools and barracks), homosexual practices, ranging from mutual masturbation to actual sodomy, are seldom absent. Here again we have to recognise the irresistibility of the sexual obsession when it is denied its natural outlet in sexual intercourse. In animals and in man alike, the sexual ardour finds vent in solitary indulgence or in inverted acts, when normal intercourse is prevented. There is thus nothing “unnatural” in these homosexual intimacies; they are the natural result of exceptional circumstances. The only way to suppress them is to alter the circumstances or find some method, hitherto undiscovered, of giving the average individual complete control over his sexual feelings.

One of the most important of these circumstances is the regime of the modern English boarding school. It is unquestionably there that the majority of both boys and girls first make their acquaintance with homosexuality. Opinions differ as to the extent to which the school may

be held responsible for the spread of the practice, some people holding that its evil influence has been much exaggerated, others that it can hardly be expressed too strongly. At present it is impossible to say exactly where the truth lies; but as the school is the one place where boys are mingled promiscuously and at the close quarters which alone allow free play to the influence of example, it is almost inevitable that it should be a most important abettor of this particular vice. The period of puberty is a most impressionable age, when boys and girls are easily swayed by the will of others, particularly those a few years older than themselves. Their power of control over any of their instincts is slight, and especially so over so powerful and so novel an instinct as that of sex.

Moreover, the sex instinct at puberty is, as we have already remarked, in a comparatively diffused condition and uncertain of its aim. It is therefore liable to turn in any direction which may be suggested at the time. In schools the whole suggestion is towards homosexual practices, if we exclude the often allied practice of masturbation. Every miscellaneous collection of boys has its depraved members; and it is notorious that bad example is far more contagious than good. Therefore, however free certain schools may be from homosexuality, there is no denying the fact that the present school system is admirably calculated to encourage every form of homosexual intimacy.

It is remarkable, moreover, that it is not only among the boys themselves that any close friendship is regarded as suspicious evidence of physical relations. The same suspicion exists as regards the masters and the boys, so much so that in some schools every sign of a teacher's interest in a particular boy, however innocent and indeed

praiseworthy that interest may be, is instantly checked. It is thus impossible for a master to establish a personal footing with his pupils; they are separated by much the same invisible barrier as keeps the sexes apart in ordinary life. We are not here concerned with the effect which this aloofness must have on the *esprit de corps* of a school or on the possibility of a teacher's gaining a proper insight into the character of his boys. The fact is interesting in this connection merely as a vivid illustration of the prevalence of homosexuality in schools and of the extreme measures which have to be adopted if all suspicion on that head is to be removed.

What applies to boys' schools in the matter of homosexual practices applies almost equally well to girls' schools. It seems to be forgotten sometimes that the male sex is not the only one which develops homosexual tendencies in this casual fashion. Many of the warm friendships which spring up between girls are by no means so innocent as they outwardly appear to be, although nobody thinks of putting any restraint upon them. It must be admitted, however, that a larger proportion of them are likely to be free from physical accompaniments than is the case with the other sex. With women, affection seems to dwell longer in caresses and the pleasure of mere companionship; their instinct does not lead so directly, or so irresistibly, to a physical climax. Boys have as a rule a closer acquaintance with sexual affairs, and therefore readily recognise the sexual nature of close relations which in the case of girls might remain unsuspected even by the participants themselves. When we further take into account the fact that convention allows a girl free intimacy with one of her own sex and places so many barriers between her and the other sex, it is not difficult to understand that

relationships of a quasi-sexual kind, without definite sexual acts, are more frequent among girls than among boys. At any rate, these ardent friendships between girls are quite common. Their ardour is often sufficiently great to come in the way of the normal affection, though as a rule such rudimentary homosexual relationships give place sooner or later to ordinary inter-sexual love.

Accidental sexual inversion is therefore not likely to be so formidable a phenomenon among girls as among boys. Nevertheless it is a notable phenomenon in both sexes, and one which may be expected to arise whenever the circumstances are favourable to it. They are perhaps most favourable in schools, where example has so wide a range of influence; but the influence of active seduction by older persons must also be recognised. These persons may either be congenital inverts or individuals who, through genital exhaustion, or grossness of emotional character, seek relief in homosexual practices. They exercise the same arts of seduction as are employed in normal amours; and their particular demands are answered by a supply of male prostitutes on the one hand, and on the other, by a class of women who submit to the embraces of their own sex on the same commercial basis. These branches of prostitution cannot, of course, be compared in extent and social importance with ordinary prostitution, which is a primary social vice. They are nevertheless obvious enough to the experienced observer in such cities as London and Paris, where a considerable measure of personal freedom is indulged in, and vice does not always take the trouble to hide itself under the cloak of respectability. In some instances solicitation for male prostitution goes on with the same openness and indifference to publicity as in female prostitution. The general ignorance of society on the subject

seems to have led to an apathy on the part of the authorities which permits the male prostitute to ply his trade with impunity, even though the acts in which he engages are punishable with so much severity.

It must be stated in this connection that the male prostitute is seldom himself an invert. He is usually a normal individual whose complaisance is due to mere indifference, and not to any distinct preference for homosexual practices. He does not object to them sufficiently to feel inclined to refuse the profitable solicitations of the invert or debauchee. The lower classes as a whole show, as Havelock Ellis remarks, a considerable lack of repugnance to homosexual practices. "In this matter, as folklore shows in so many other matters, the uncultured man of civilisation is linked to the savage." Modesty, it must be remembered, is to a great extent an acquired feeling; and among the lower classes, where the environment is so sordid and unbeautiful, it would be absurd to expect any marked refinement of sentiment. Circumstances make these classes familiar with homosexuality from an early age, and their familiarity breeds indifference. It is from among them that the male prostitute is derived, and his attitude towards the whole matter is such that he will readily prostitute himself for a sufficient consideration although he seeks his own pleasure among women.

Disappointment in normal love must also be recognised as a cause of the adoption of homosexuality. In cases where a person with latent inverted tendencies tries to form a normal alliance, the failure which is almost certain to follow embitters his mind against the whole feminine sex, and, by turning his thoughts towards his own sex, develops the homosexual tendencies that previously lay hidden. Such a reversal of the sex instinct is not likely to take

place where the normal sex feeling is strong; it is indeed difficult to imagine any external cause powerful enough to effect so radical a change in so strong and deeply rooted an instinct. But where the instinct is weak, and consequently unable to direct itself with considerable force in the usual direction, an acute love disappointment may be able to produce so strong a feeling of disgust that the instinct turns from the normal object of desire and seeks satisfaction in homosexual relations. We have already noted the prevalence of homosexuality among prostitutes, where an acquired distaste for normal sexual intimacy combines with sexual excess to produce a homosexual bias. The case is similar with the debauchee, and indeed all individuals whose sexual passions have been sensibly weakened.

It is therefore clear that inverted practices may be indulged in by persons who show no inherent trait of inversion, but who are influenced by one or more of the external circumstances just described. But it is also clear that in the majority of these cases the lapse into homosexuality is only temporary. As a rule, the normal impulse is not lost. It is revived as soon as the opportunity for normal intercourse presents itself. Only when there is an inverted tendency present in the individual, do the external circumstances of example and seduction lead to a permanent adoption of inverted methods of sexual gratification. There is no evidence to show that a perfectly sound normal individual of either sex can be by any means whatever transformed into a constitutional invert. Therefore the simple cure for what we may call casual homosexuality is to remove the peculiar conditions which favour its growth and to supply the means of normal intercourse.

One step in this direction is to abolish the present school

system, under which boys, good, bad, and indifferent, are herded together, and to establish the more rational system of co-education. Nothing is better calculated to destroy the sexual self-consciousness of the boy and to turn his mind from both solitary indulgence and homosexuality, than frequent inter-mingling, both in school and out, with the other sex. There is no reason to suppose that such inter-mingling, if intelligently supervised, would be a source of sexual temptation; it is more likely to encourage a healthy harmless interest between the sexes. Certainly the cure could hardly be worse than the disease. It is useless to attempt to stamp out homosexuality in schools under the existing system, since preaching and punishment have alike proved useless; the only hope lies in the radical reform of the system itself.

IV.—The cure of the real invert is another and much more difficult problem. It is, in fact, a serious question whether he can be cured at all. To cure him completely we would have to transform his whole being, to eradicate an abnormality which is due to heredity or an accident of his early development in the womb, and to replace that abnormality with what is in a sense its exact opposite—the normal sexual feeling. This is a transformation which is more akin to the feats of ancient magic than to the achievements of modern medicine. The most successful cases of cure are probably those for which De von Schrenck-Notzing is responsible. His method of treatment is nothing less than heroic; and it is difficult to know which to admire more, the patience of the doctor or the good-nature of the patient. By repeated hypnotic sittings the doctor tries to turn the patient's attention from homosexual images to attractive conceptions of the opposite sex; and to the same end repeated visits to the brothel are en-

joined, during which the prostitute endeavours, with often indifferent success, to excite sexual feeling in the patient. Repeated lapses into homosexual practices disturb the progress of the cure; but in some cases Dr. von Schrenck-Notzing has so far succeeded that his inverts have been able to marry and to beget children.

It is, however, extremely doubtful whether this success implies a real cure. Many inverts are able to effect normal coitus, particularly when they fix their thoughts upon some homosexual image. But that is a very different thing from being sexually normal; and any treatment which enables an impotent invert to acquire the faculty of ordinary coitus is simply a means of perverting his instinct from the channels in which it naturally flows. Moreover, it is not the most desirable thing in the world that an invert should have the power of begetting offspring. He is himself likely to be of a somewhat neurotic disposition, and his children are liable to inherit it, to say nothing of the associated tendency to inversion. It is social folly to attempt a cure which merely results in the perpetuation of a degenerate stock. As Havelock Ellis fitly says: "Sometimes, indeed, the tendency to sexual inversion in eccentric and neurotic families seem merely to be Nature's merciful method of winding up a concern which, from her point of view, has ceased to be profitable."

Society may therefore congratulate itself on the fact that inverts are in most cases likely to prove sterile. Where they have produced offspring, the inverted tendency seems to have developed somewhat late in life; it would be interesting to have decided information on the temperament, inverted or otherwise, of children so born. As to the children born after the inverted tendency has fully developed, the few facts available are not particularly

encouraging. Féré relates the case of an invert who was successfully married and had four children, the eldest epileptic and almost imbecile, with strong inverted tendencies, and the second and third idiots. The fourth died in infancy, from convulsions. This case can hardly, as Havelock Ellis remarks, be considered typical. Nevertheless it seems to indicate a more or less extreme point in the direction towards which the children of inverts would naturally tend. On all accounts, therefore, it is to be hoped that medical science will never succeed in giving to all inverts the power of propagating their abnormality.

The only circumstances under which it is at all possible to cure homosexual leanings are when the inversion is slight and is treated as soon as it appears. The nervous excitability and genital over-sensitiveness which so frequently go with the inverted tendency may be considerably reduced, if not altogether cured, by a regular course of physical and mental hygiene. By this means the system may be brought down to the more normal standard of nervous tension, and the abnormal sexual tendency replaced by the normal. But only when the conditions are peculiarly favourable can this cure be effected; the utmost that can be expected in ordinary cases is that the patient will acquire the power of indulging in both forms of sexual intercourse. And that consummation, having in view the results on the next generation, is hardly one to be devoutly wished.

The real value of the suggested hygienic treatment lies in the power of self-control which it enables the patient to attain. The invert belongs to the one class in which chastity is by itself a virtue. It is a virtue because the homosexual act involves as a rule a partner who, normally constituted, is morally degraded by intimacies so foreign to

his natural impulses. The homosexual act may be, and in many cases is, perfectly pure and beautiful from the point of view of the invert himself. But his whole attitude towards the matter is abnormal; and what is natural to him is a perversion, and therefore a vice, in the case of his partner. Consequently it is the duty of society to protect its members from this perversion, and it is the duty of the invert, as a moral individual, to restrain himself from being the cause of such perversion. He can only do this by freeing his homosexual attachments from any physical manifestations.

It is, in fact, only by such self-control that the invert can find any serenity of mind or security of reputation in modern society. Both the law and general moral feeling are so utterly set against all homosexual practices that it is impossible for an inverted man or woman of refinement to indulge in them without remorse and all its accompanying moral deterioration. In most of the cases recorded by Havelock Ellis, the ideal of chastity has been slowly realised, and has brought with it as deep a sense of rest and moral stability as the victims of so peculiar an abnormality may expect to attain. It is generally an easier matter for an invert than a normal individual to lead a chaste life, since his sexual passions are not so overwhelming. Moreover, the invert is often extremely susceptible to moral enthusiasm; and if his sympathies are once thoroughly engaged in the effort towards chastity, there is good hope that it may be reached. An influence in the same direction is afforded by the antagonism of social feeling, which, it is almost unnecessary to remark, is so much more violent against inverted practices than against even the most illicit and gross of normal intimacies.

It may here be objected that not all true inverts, and

certainly not all those men and women who indulge in homosexual practices, are so morally susceptible as to make any strong and persistent effort to become chaste; and that, consequently, the preaching of chastity is a counsel of perfection. But it is nevertheless true that the majority of true inverts possess such high intellectual and moral capacities that the pursuit of chastity is more likely to prove successful in their case than with the normal person. Further, if the moral feeling of the true or other invert is so gross as not to respond to the obvious arguments in favour of chastity, it is likewise beyond the power of any reforming influence. Such cases must be regarded as incurable, unless the partial perversion of the inverted tendencies into normal channels be regarded as a cure. The gross invert is, in fact, exactly in the same position as the normal person with brutal sexual proclivities. Both are equally impervious to moral influences; and the utmost that society can do in the matter is to reduce, by protective and prohibitive measures, the number of their possible victims.

V.—This brings us to the consideration of the legal attitude towards homosexual practices. The history of the matter has many interesting features. We have seen that in ancient times these practices were severely punished as an offence against societies whose first need was an expansion of population. The moral and religious antipathy against homosexuality arose with the Jewish religion, and was also a component part of the religious position of the early Christians. Thus the social prejudice against it was strengthened until indeed the laws enacted against it were more religious than social in their inspiration. Up to the time of the Revolution, homosexuality was a punishable offence in all European countries, but after that event

France made a change which has since been followed by Belgium, Holland, Italy, and Spain. The change was first instituted by the famous Code Napoléon, which was constructed on non-religious and indeed anti-religious lines. A clear line was drawn between vice and crime, the former being a matter of personal conduct in which the body social had no right to interfere, and the latter being connected with definitely anti-social acts.

Thus the French law does not regard homosexuality as in itself a crime. It is only under certain well-specified conditions that the practice comes under its jurisdiction at all. The first is when the homosexual act is performed before, or with the possibility of, witnesses; the second is when violence has been used, either in an attempted or accomplished act; and the third is when one of the parties implicated is under age or otherwise unable to give valid consent.

These conditions, it will be observed, are precisely those which are laid down in the law of this country with regard to normal sexual intercourse. In a word, the French law regards homosexuality exactly as the English law regards heterosexuality. There is no more question of religion and morals in the one case than in the other. If both parties concerned are of age and are freely consenting, and if the ordinary rules of social decency are observed, the law has no control. The act may be vicious or immoral, but it is not held to be criminal, according to the fundamental principle of French law. The principle is in general much the same in England, but a striking exception is made there in the case of homosexuality. The English law as it at present stands enacts that "any male person who in public or private commits, or is a party to the commission of, or procures or attempts to procure the commission by

any male person of, any act of gross indecency with another male person, shall be guilty of a misdemeanour, and being convicted thereof, shall be liable at the discretion of the court to be imprisoned for any term not exceeding two years, with or without hard labour." As regards the more definite act of sodomy, the law states that carnal intimacy *per anum* between a man and a man, woman, or animal is punishable by a maximum penalty of penal servitude for life and a minimum penalty of ten years. The attempt at such intimacy is punishable by ten years penal servitude. Similar laws exist in Germany, Austria, and Russia, being particularly severe in the last named country.

Before discussing what justification there may be for treating homosexuality as a crime, it will be interesting to see whether the severe legal penalties enforced have any sensible effect in diminishing its prevalence. Taking a quite general survey of the Continent, there is little to encourage the belief that they have any such effect at all. England, Germany, and Russia do not show a conspicuous freedom from homosexuality as compared with France, Belgium, and Holland. What differences exist are probably only apparent, being due to the fact that where the laws are severe the acts are more studiously concealed. The law can have little reformatory influence on the real invert, who is congenitally incurable; and since secrecy is so easy to obtain, the same restricting force is not likely to affect the remainder of the homosexual class to any appreciable degree. Havelock Ellis even holds that so rigorous an attempt at suppression has the effect of arousing "the finer minds among sexual inverts to undertake the enthusiastic defence of homosexuality, while coarser minds are stimulated to cynical bravado." He reminds us also that the severity of the law is a direct encouragement to

the crime of blackmailing, which is very prevalent in connection with homosexuality. This fact, added to the failure of severe laws as a repressive force, makes it difficult to believe that the benefit of heavy penalties outweighs or even equals their harmful influence.

In France, although the law is purposely made inoperative, there is a very strong social feeling against homosexuality; and that feeling would appear to be as effectual against true and casual inverted practices as any social influence could be. It is remarkable, moreover, that in the France of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, when homosexuality was a punishable offence, inverts were almost openly tolerated. This seems to indicate that severe dealing by legal measures with this practice has if anything a weakening effect on the general moral feeling against it. It is as if the public conscience shifted the responsibility of reprobation on to the shoulders of the legal authority. At any rate it is clear, from the present state of things in the various European countries, that legislation is more than useless as a preventive check to homosexuality, and that educated social feeling, if left to itself, is sufficiently strong to keep the various manifestations of inversion within comparatively narrow limits.

Legal interference has therefore not even the justification of practical success. If it had, then the general arguments against it might be set aside. But in view of the actual failure of the legal means employed and the amount of social suffering and scandal which they occasion, these arguments must be given their full value. They are based mainly upon the vital distinction which is drawn by the French law between vice and crime. It is noteworthy that the trend of opinion in English legal circles seems to be towards the practical emphasis of that distinction. The

time has gone past when mere moral aversion or religious prejudice against any practice is sufficient to dictate a punishment for it. The general attitude towards homosexuality is inspired by the feeling of disgust; to the popular mind the act of sodomy is disgusting and nothing more. But no matter how disgusting an act may be, its offence against taste is no reason why it should be treated as an offence against the body social. As has been pertinently remarked by Moll, to eat excrement is extremely disgusting, but it is not criminal. And it would be as reasonable to punish the eating of excrement by penal servitude as to impose a similar sentence on simple homosexuality.

As soon as the legal mind has been freed from the fallacious confusion of what is disgusting and what is criminal, we may expect a corresponding modification of the law in the direction of the existing French statutes. That is, that any homosexual act whatever, performed in private by two consenting parties, both of adult age, will be treated as an act beyond the range of the law, however much it is within the range of moral and social condemnation. If legal interference should be further demanded on the score of the "gross indecency" of such an act, it is only necessary to refer to the fact that the closest sexual intimacies between women go unpunished save by social opinion. Moreover, any act whatsoever does not become indecent save in the presence of persons who consider it so. Urination is in itself not an indecent act; but if performed in public it becomes so. Normal sexual intercourse is in a similar case. It is not the act itself, but the circumstances under which it takes place, that are the source of indecency. It cannot be too often reiterated that æsthetic feeling is not a sound basis of law.

While the law of the future will probably remove the severe penalties attached to homosexuality under all circumstances, it will probably, nay certainly, retain its hold upon those homosexual acts in which violence or any form of seduction has been employed, or one of the parties is under age, or when the act is performed with the presence or likelihood of witnesses. Thus will the law do all it can to prevent the corruption of society; the rest must be left to the force of social opinion, which in this respect has shown itself as effective as could reasonably be expected.

It may even be asserted that social opinion has gone to extremes in this connection. Public feeling on the subject of homosexuality is so acute that the mere breath of suspicion, however unjust, is sometimes enough to permanently injure a formerly sound reputation. Cases are not unknown of men so accused having preferred to capitulate unconditionally, rather than face the open scandal of an inquiry. It must be admitted that this social prejudice is keen enough to give ample scope to the blackmailer, although the law certainly strengthens his hands. We may look to a certain modification of popular sentiment on the matter, as soon as a better comprehension of the nature of inversion has reached the general ranks of society, and a more enlightened attitude is taken towards the victims of a congenital abnormality. It is impossible, of course, that a sound social sense would ever do anything but discourage homosexual practices; but a healthy opposition to the practices themselves is not incompatible with a sympathetic attitude towards the confirmed invert and a general appreciation of the efforts of the better class of inverts to raise their affections above the physical plane into regions where they may be altogether effective for good. The present attitude of society is such as to dis-

concert the invert in his every effort at improvement, to crush him with a sense of his pariahdom and inspire him with a bitterness of heart which makes him callous of the opinion of his fellows. Let society protect itself from the corruption which follow from the participation, by normal individuals, in the intimacies of homosexuality; but let it also recognise that sexual inversion is essentially an aberration which has many elements of social usefulness, and which, when carefully trained and restricted, is capable of intellectual and moral efforts of more than ordinary value.

CHAPTER VI.

THE LIMITATION OF POPULATION.

- I.—Malthus's "Essay"—Population and poverty—Natural and prudential checks on population—Malthus's three propositions—His cure for over-population.
- II.—Anti-malthusian arguments—Spencer's theory of progress in relation to fertility—Progress a cure for its own evils—Darwin's position—Is over-population beneficial?
- III.—The Malthusian cure worse than the disease—The Malthusian dilemma—Solved by Neo-malthusianism—The preventive check—General objections considered—"Interference with Nature"—Morality of preventive check—Its social advantages.
- IV.—Various forms of preventive check—Their advantages and disadvantages.
- V.—Neo-malthusianism in practice among rich and poor—The example of France—Population and national greatness—The preventive check and sexual excess—Its influence on marriage and illicit relations—Also on the parental instinct—The future of Neo-malthusianism.

I.—The population question has been discussed with greater freedom and has received a larger share of popular attention than perhaps any other aspect of the sex problem. This is partly due to the fact that it forms its most practical and material aspect, being mainly a matter of economics. It is also due to the prominence given to Malthus's "Essay on Population" by its association with Darwin's theory of the origin of species.

That essay is, indeed, the central point of all controversy

on the subject of population. Although it was originally published in 1798, and has been publicly discussed almost without cessation ever since its first issue, its teachings are still strongly disputed, and the opposing sides in the population discussion are still labelled Malthusian and Anti-malthusian. It would be difficult to find any other social doctrine, of equal definiteness and simplicity, which has not either been finally proved or refuted, long before it had attained its century. Considering the immense amount of argumentative skill and scientific learning which have been brought to bear on the dispute, it is almost amazing to find it, in the year 1900, about as near a satisfactory conclusion as in the year 1800. If Malthus himself were to return to earth and re-engage in the controversies to which he devoted himself, he would hardly be conscious of the lapse of time. The ground of the discussion has shifted somewhat, as a result of economic changes; new aspects of the question have arisen through the increase of knowledge and the change in ethical standards. But the crux of the dispute remains the same. It is still to be established that the Malthusian doctrine is or is not sound and beneficial.

As the doctrine itself has been sometimes mis-stated and misunderstood by critics, it will be as well to refer to the original form in which Malthus himself put it. Malthus was concerned first and last with the cure of poverty; and he sought to discover the real causes of the destitution and hardship under which so large a proportion of society laboured. In his search he unknowingly adopted the evolutionary method, in so far as he made a comparison between human and animal societies. In the latter, the animals simply follow their natural instinct in the matter of procreation, being unrestrained by any prudential considera-

tions whatsoever. But while the animals themselves place no limit to their fecundity, Nature does, in the shape of providing them with a limited means of subsistence. Animal societies crowd so closely upon each other that they interfere with each other's food supplies, which are limited at the best. Therefore, animals—and in this matter vegetables may be included—tend by their natural fertility to increase beyond the bounds of subsistence available; and their numbers are kept down by the check which that limited subsistence exercises.

A similar check operates on human societies, though its effects are more complicated. While the population certainly cannot increase beyond the limits of the subsistence available, man is able to exercise a prudential check on procreation. He does not, except in the lowest of savage societies, allow his reproductive instinct full rein; he is influenced, though sometimes little enough, by considerations of the number of offspring he is able to support. To this preventive check on population is added the effect of vice in keeping a certain proportion of society sterile, and of poverty and misery in raising the death-rate. These artificial checks—prudential restraint, vice, and poverty—combine to reduce the population towards the limit at which the available means of subsistence would be just sufficient for all.

Malthus estimated, from a consideration of the population returns of the United States, that population, when unchecked, goes on doubling itself every twenty-five years, or increases in a geometrical ratio. And from the knowledge he could gain of the productive powers of the earth under human cultivation, he further estimated that “the means of subsistence, under circumstances the most favourable to human industry, could not possibly be made to

increase faster than in an arithmetical ratio." That is, "taking the whole earth . . . while the human race would increase as the numbers 1, 2, 4, 8, 16, 32, 64, 128, 256, subsistence would only increase at the rate of 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9." Gathering all these facts and theories together, Malthus laid down three propositions, which form the gist of his doctrine:—

1st.—Population is necessarily limited by the means of subsistence.

2nd.—Population invariably increases, when the means of subsistence increase.

3rd.—The checks which repress the superior power of population, and keep its effects on a level with the means of subsistence, are all resolvable into moral restraint, vice, and misery.

The first of these propositions Malthus claims as self-evident; and for the detailed proof of the other two he refers to the review of social conditions which forms a large part of his "Essay." He divides the checks mentioned in the third proposition into two classes—preventive and positive. To the first belong restraint from marriage (termed by Malthus "moral restraint"), "promiscuous intercourse, unnatural passions, adultery, and improper arts to conceal the consequences of irregular connections"—all these, with the exception of restraint from marriage, coming under the heading of vice. To the positive checks belong "those which appear to arise unavoidably from the laws of nature," (called exclusively misery) and "those which we obviously bring upon ourselves, such as wars, excesses, and many others."

It was further asserted by Malthus that although these checks had been everywhere in constant operation, there were few countries where the population did not tend con-

tinually to exceed the means of subsistence. This state of things implied that the less fortunate members of society could with difficulty obtain subsistence; in other words, it implied poverty. Accordingly Malthus argued that if population could be, by some ready means, kept within the limits prescribed by the means of subsistence, want would cease and poverty would be cured. The passage in which this important doctrine is laid down will bear quotation:—

“As it appears that in every state of society we have considered, the natural progress of population has been constantly and powerfully checked; and as it seems evident that no improved form of government, no plans of emigration, no benevolent institutions, and no degree or direction of industry can prevent the operation of some great check to population; it follows, that we must submit to it as an inevitable law of nature; and the only inquiry that remains is, how it may take place with the least possible prejudice to the virtue and happiness of human society. All the immediate checks to population, which have been observed to prevail in the same and different countries, seem to be resolvable into moral restraint, vice, and misery; and if our choice be confined to these, it is easy to decide which it would be most eligible to encourage. It is better that the check should arise from foreseeing the difficulties attending a family, than from the actual presence of these difficulties.”

The Malthusian cure for poverty was therefore simple enough in theory. It consisted in late marriage, with restraint from all illicit connections. By such moral means the population would be diminished until there was enough and to spare of the comforts and necessities of life for all. Intending parents were counselled not to marry

until able to support offspring, and not to create more offspring than their means justified. Malthus was a clergyman and therefore did not countenance any other preventative of conception than abstinence from sexual intercourse. Chastity became to him the one great social virtue which, if duly observed, would solve the perennial problem of the poor, and usher in that epoch of general social well-being which fate and human ignorance seemed to have combined to postpone to the dimmest future.

II.—To attempt to give an adequate account of all the arguments which have been advanced against the Malthusian theory would be quite impossible within the limits of this chapter. But these arguments may all be resolved into two main classes—(1) those which refute the central idea of the theory; and (2) those which accept the theory as true, but which assert that its practical application would lead to greater evils than those it aims at removing. It is to the energy and persistence with which the first class of arguments have been propagated that the continuance of the Malthusian discussion is really due. Malthus claimed that poverty was the insurmountable obstacle to progress, and that it could only be removed by the deliberate effort of humanity to limit its numbers to its supply of food and commodities. His opponents, on the other hand, assert with equal force that it is this very tendency for population to exceed the means of subsistence that is the mainspring of progress. It is the spur that urges men on to enterprise, to develop agriculture and industry, to acquire knowledge whereby their command over Nature's resources may be increased. From their point of view, the spectre of want becomes the good angel of social advancement. If Malthus could have his wish, the human race would lapse into a condition of stagnation, for lack of the

perpetual incitement to labour and development which is afforded by the keen edge of the struggle for existence.

One of the most eminent among the men who have expounded this anti-malthusian view is Herbert Spencer. And not only does he regard the pressure of population as the main incentive to progress in all periods of history, but he goes on to demonstrate, with a wealth of fact and argument, that progress itself implies diminishing fertility. That is, in a word, that the cause of progress tends to disappear as progress itself reaches its climax. The more backward a nation is in the evolutionary race, the more fertile it will be and the more, consequently, will the pressure of its population urge it onward. Similarly, the higher the development of a nation, the less fertile will its individuals become and the less the power of, as the necessity for, the spur afforded by over-population.

Spencer bases this antagonistic view on the nature of life and reproduction in the organism. He divides the energy of the organism into two opposing parts, that devoted to growth and development and that devoted to reproduction or genesis. These two kinds of energy vary inversely; that is, if the organism devotes a larger amount of energy to the selfish processes of growth and development, a correspondingly less amount will be devoted to the altruistic process of generation. Both together represent the total energy available in the organism; and another way of expressing the same idea is that the greater the amount of energy absorbed by the personal functions of the organism, the less will there be available for offspring. Now, the evolution of the race implies that each individual has become more highly developed and therefore requires more energy to keep up his improved existence, to feed his more fully developed faculties. Less energy

remains for the arduous labour of reproduction; and the race therefore diminishes in fertility.

A radical objection to this theory naturally occurs at this point. It is that evolution brings with it an increase of the total energy of the organism which ought to compensate for the diminished amount available for reproduction. This objection is more obvious than sound, for the reason that, although the total energy may be increased, the *relative* amounts which go to individual development and to reproduction are not thereby altered. That is, the ratio of reproductive to the other functional energy remains the same, and there is no increase in fertility. It is really the greater complexity of structure produced in evolution, that alters this ratio and makes the individual pay the price of progress in diminished power of reproduction.

Spencer's theory thus practically amounts to an assertion that progress contains a cure for its own evils. The authors of "The Evolution of Sex" remark with natural surprise that although Spencer took immense trouble to establish this theory, he seems never to have traced its applications to actual human life. For countless generations back, the evolution of man has been almost entirely limited to the psychical sphere, to his faculties of thought and feeling. If, accordingly, this evolution has caused that diminishing fertility which softens the struggle for existence without deadening its effect, the whole effort of society should be directed towards encouraging it, that is, to educating its members up to the highest possible pitch of mental and emotional ability.

As far as Spencer's theory is concerned with the effect of progress on fertility, it is probably sound and most completely in accordance with the general run of the available facts. But as a practical solution of the problem of

poverty, it has its disadvantages. It, of course, denies that the pressure of population is on the whole harmful to society; its benefits outweigh, from Spencer's point of view, its disadvantages. Nevertheless, its prophecy of a time when reproduction will be less than at present, tacitly implies that over-population is not consistent with an ideal society. This particular aspect of the matter we shall discuss later; the immediately important point is that, if there be any sound social reason for reducing population, the natural means indicated by Speneer would not meet the case. For the evils of over-population—whatever they may be—are things of to-day, while the Spencerian cure by evolution is a thing of to-morrow, and a very distant to-morrow. Progress may contain its own cure, but that cure does not become successful until the evils of progress have been improved out of existence.

In the second place, the reduction of sexuality which evolution produces, affects the very class of people whose fertility is a matter of prime social importance. The human species is not a single species, but a group of several; and the object of social reform is to increase the number of individuals in the more evolved species and diminish the number in the others. Evolution acts in precisely the opposite direction, since, according to Spencer, it diminishes the power of reproduction among the more highly educated peoples and leaves the lower classes with their full capabilities of generation. This unfortunate fact places the millenium of completed progress further than ever in the future, and renders the Spencerian consolation for the miseries of existence as unsatisfactory as it is prophetic.

Darwin's attitude on the same subject is interesting, not so much from his position as a naturalist, as from the

fact that it was the "Essay" of Malthus which first suggested to him the origin of species by natural selection and the survival of the fittest. To Darwin the struggle for existence, rendered necessary by competition among animals for food, etc., was the power which raised the level of the species, by killing out the unfit and placing a premium upon superior strength and intelligence. The same idea, when applied to humanity, brings us to much the same position as the Spencerian theory. Both Darwin and Spencer regard the pressure of population as the main-spring of evolution; and they consequently discourage any such prudential check on population as was to Malthus the sole hope of the regeneration of the world.

It is evident, therefore, that where Malthus and his greatest antagonists differ most strikingly is in their opinion of the actual social effects of over-population. Malthus regards it as the parent of poverty and all the miseries of life; Darwin and Spencer regard it as the lever that has raised the human race to the level of civilisation. Round this central difference of opinion, the whole Malthusian discussion has raged. Is the pressure of population good or bad for the social well-being? When this question is satisfactorily answered, the discussion is really at an end.

Without attempting any minute analysis of the arguments on both sides, it may be suggested that, as in so many discussions on economic questions, both are right and both are wrong. If the means of subsistence available to mankind had always been ample to meet the needs of the people, however fecund they might be, there would have been no call for men to exert themselves, and the more intelligent people would have been no better off, in an economic sense, than the merest savage. Therefore, it is

true that the constant tendency of population to outrun the food supply is the one instrument of progress, that without it humanity would simply stagnate in over-fed contentment. On the other hand, when the stress of over-population becomes excessive, a certain proportion of people must go destitute and a certain proportion must find difficulty in obtaining a reasonable supply of the necessities of life. The greater the pressure of population, the greater the evils of poverty. That is the social fact upon which the Malthusian takes his stand.

From these considerations it is clear that pressure of population is both a good and an evil. It is the spur of progress and it is the iron heel of poverty. Consequently the only sound position to take on the matter is an intermediate one—one which recognises the advantages of the struggle for existence, but which does not see the advisability of allowing the struggle to become so acute that an overwhelming amount of misery is produced. The ideal state would be one in which there was sufficient stress of over-population to maintain the spirit of enterprise and progress, yet not enough to produce acute want and other forms of social distress. The Malthusian would be foolish to eliminate one of the main stimulants to human energy; and the Spencerian would be equally foolish to give Nature a free hand in a matter which demands the highest effort of human powers of forethought and organisation.

The truth, therefore, appears to lie mid-way between the two opposing positions. It is adjustment that is wanted, and not wholesale measures one way or the other. Many economists hope to bring about the particular adjustment which will solve the problem of poverty, without taking into account the alleged tendency of the population always to exceed the means of subsistence. That is, they

hope that improved methods of production will so multiply the sources of foods and commodities, and that improved methods of distribution will so ensure a fair share for all, that poverty will cease to be anything but a rarity. They attribute poverty mainly to the faults in the social machinery whereby a large amount of wealth is allowed to accumulate in the hands of a few individuals, to the detriment of the general welfare. Some form of socialism, in a word, is looked to as the cure for the economic ills of society.

To this the Malthusian replies that, however excellent the social machinery may be, its results will always be more or less nullified by the inevitable additions to the population, which will bring more mouths to be fed than the machinery is constructed for. The improvement in the machinery will in fact encourage the very increase in population which will spoil the beneficial effect of the bettered conditions. Consequently the Malthusian asserts that it is still a necessity for rational human beings to take the problem into their own hands, and, by prudential restraint, keep the population sufficiently low to be near the limits prescribed by the material resources at hand.

III.—At this point the Malthusian doctrine is opposed by the argument that, in its practical influence, it would be the cause of worse evils than it is held to cure. Malthusianism means, in practice, late marriages, and strict celibacy outside the marital relation. Malthus himself advised the age of forty as that at which a man would generally be in a position to educate a family. Until that age was reached, men were to exercise moral restraint on behalf of themselves and of society. It is obvious that this idea is full of practical objections. It is, in fact, a counsel of perfection which it was absurdly optimistic to

expect would ever take any real hold on the minds and hearts of society at large. Although the average age of marriage is at present far below forty years, we already see the ample results which follow from its being five or ten years above the age of puberty. Prostitution, homosexuality, masturbation, illicit relations, and the direct evils of celibacy are, in a world such as ours, the inevitable effects of postponing marriage beyond the age of sexual maturity. With the exception of the evils of celibacy, all these effects do, of course, co-exist with marriage and are not cured by it. But they are undoubtedly aggravated to a great extent by enforced celibacy, and are certainly entitled to rank as results of Malthusianism. Men might restrain themselves from marriage and procreation, but they would certainly not restrain themselves from some form of irregular sexual intercourse—that is, from some form of what is termed vice. Those economists, therefore, who accept the original principle of Malthus, must decide whether the increase of vice which would follow its application in practice would not counterbalance any beneficial influence which the change might have on the material well-being of society.

Another objection to the Malthusian doctrine in practice is that if men did not marry until the age of forty, they would not be likely to marry women of their own age (being so near the limit of child-bearing) but would seek wives of ten or fifteen years younger. Society would therefore become an almost ludicrous collection of ill-assorted pairs; and we may imagine that the inevitable attentions of young bachelors to the wives of comparatively elderly men, would considerably increase the number of cases of marital infidelity. If, by some means or other, the men could be induced to marry women approaching

their own age, the case would not be much bettered. The children which would be the outcome of such late unions would not be particularly healthy; and nothing is gained by condemning women as well as men to twenty or more years of celibacy.

The influence of Malthusianism in increasing vice forms what has been called the Malthusian dilemma. Either the essential cause of poverty must remain uncured, or its cure must be attained at the cost of increased vice. The only escape from this dilemma which has been proposed is, curiously enough, enumerated by Malthus himself as one of the vices which Malthusianism was destined to destroy. Possibly Malthus was referring merely to abortion when he spoke of "improper arts to conceal the consequences of irregular connections"; but in any case there is little doubt that he would have strongly deprecated the means which have been advocated by many social reformers as the only satisfactory way of escaping the vicious effects of late marriages combined with strict celibacy. We refer to what is known as the "preventive check," a more or less artificial means of obviating the normal result of sexual intercourse. This preventive check has been advocated by the party called "Neo-malthusian" as the only method by which Malthusianism can become in practice either possible or beneficial. It permits of late marriages and the careful regulation of the number of offspring, without involving people in a long and rigorous course of sexual abstinence. By its aid, marriages may take place at any convenient age; and vice would be to a great extent cured by the natural outlet for sexuality so afforded. In short, it is to an artificial check on conception that the Neo-malthusian appeals for the solution of the problem of poverty on sound moral principles.

Neo-malthusianism, however, shares the misfortune of Malthusianism in being a subject of constant discussion. It is roundly denied that Neo-malthusianism is based on any moral principles whatsoever. Just as the Malthusian cure is held to be worse than the disease, so the Neo-malthusian cure is condemned as the parent of more vice and degradation than it would remove. To supply a means whereby sexual intercourse may be freely indulged in without fear of a result in child-birth is, according to many moralists, simply to place an instrument of luxury in the hands of people who would certainly misuse it. Another and still more fundamental objection is that the preventive check is an interference with Nature, of an entirely immoral and unwarrantable kind.

This objection we shall consider first. It is founded on a superstitious respect which the majority of people feel for the natural processes of existence. If a person is religious, Nature is to him the visible hand of God; if he is not religious in the ordinary sense, he still seems to feel that a mysterious sanctity attaches to the ways of the natural world. From either point of view, Nature's methods seem entirely right; that is, they tend, by however devious a path, to a good end. They cannot therefore be interfered with without disturbing that good end; and as fecundity is one of Nature's essential laws, to seek to limit it is to act in direct opposition to Nature. It is almost superfluous to note how this position has been strengthened, as regards human fecundity, by the Darwinian theory of the origin of species by natural selection. Nature's fertility seems to have a positively educative effect on the species, however great the sacrifice of life involved in the process of education. The end, it is asserted, is good and is sufficient justification for the means.

Nevertheless, a close acquaintance with the methods of Nature is hardly necessary to make it clear that they are not the altogether successful processes they are held to be. In the first place, the process of natural selection is an exceptionally wasteful one, inasmuch as the loss of life it involves is excessive. Moreover, its beneficial effect consists of killing off the unfit—and to admit the existence of the unfit is to condemn Nature by her own creations. The path of natural evolution is strewn with Nature's remnants and mis-fits; and one can hardly look at the reconstructed forms of fossil animals without classing them as the ugly and amazing eccentricities of a natural force which had much more fertility than æsthetic or mechanical skill. While it is certainly easy to find numerous instances of beautiful adaptation of means to end, of skilful arrangement of parts to give strength with speed, and so on, it is equally easy to find instances in which these adaptations and arrangements are not successful—where, indeed, Nature has developed a species along lines which are certain to lead to extinction through failure to survive among better constructed competitors. Nature is full of freaks, sports, and monstrosities. Its real method seems to be one of trial and error, of more or less erratic experiment. It reaches its end eventually, it is true, but by a path which zig-zags and sometimes returns on itself and is no more certain to go straight to its goal than it is to take the exactly opposite direction. Evolution, it should never be forgotten, is only one side of nature; the other is dissolution. The two processes go on simultaneously, and the perfection of Nature's development is always marred by degeneration, failure, and death.

Nature therefore does not possess the perfect character which would entitle it to non-interference; and the general

objection to Neo-malthusianism is so far discounted. But it is further plain that it is absurd for civilised human beings to talk solemnly about the immorality of interfering with Nature. We interfere with Nature every moment of our lives, simply because our existence is to a great extent an artificial one. In our food, clothing, and general habits, we follow our reason and not the instinctive impulses which belong to what is called Nature. In agriculture, in medicine, in surgery, and in a host of other industries and arts, we adapt Nature to our own ends and deliberately guide its forces into the desired channels. Human progress is, in fact, a gradual conquest of Nature; and it advances with the increase of human command over natural resources and with the growth of human ingenuity in diverting natural energies to peculiarly human needs. Civilisation has created an environment of its own; and the main object of life is now to adapt itself to that environment by forethought and reason, just as Nature adapts her creatures to their natural environment by the crude method of natural selection.

There is, moreover, an inconsistency in the point of view which treats the preventive check as an immoral interference with Nature and at the same time regards "moral restraint" from procreation as entirely fit and proper. If Nature and Nature's laws are to be the criterion of what is socially good, then natural instinct, and not cultivated reason, must be the guide in matters of sex. To carry this principle to its logical conclusion is to lower civilised man to the level of the savage and the brute. They do not interfere with Nature; and the consequences are obvious.

In short, the supposed immorality of "interfering with Nature" is nothing but a mere bogey. A sound moral code contains no law against the deliberate adaptation of Nature

to the end of human well-being; and if it be clear that a given method of preventing conception has beneficial results on the individual and on society, nothing but a pious superstition can stand in the way of its adoption.

The main points to be proved by the Neo-malthusian are, therefore, that it is advisable for society to have some means of checking the increase of population in advance, and that the means now at hand are both harmless and effective. We have already discussed the first point in a general way; but it perhaps requires more particular emphasis. In the case of a single family, it is not difficult to show that there is a very sharp limit to the number of children which it is advisable to bring into the world. The vast majority of parents possess limited means, and, consequently, limited powers in the way of feeding and educating children. The family is, in fact, a business concern, where the capital is produced by the labour of the parent or parents, and the main expenditure is on the children, in whom the capital is invested so that it may be returned with interest when they themselves become earning units. If they are too numerous, they are insufficiently fed and educated, and are therefore less likely to become profitable. If they are few enough for all of them to be thoroughly well educated, they are the better able to make some return for the means expended on them. Therefore it is more economically wise to have a conveniently small family than to increase it so that all have to be stinted in the necessities and comforts of civilisation. We have only to compare the conditions of large and small families, under the same economic conditions, to perceive that, from their point of view at any rate, it is folly to allow the procreative faculty of human beings its full range.

From the social point of view, it appears to be not only foolish but immoral. It is doing no good to society to present it with members which cannot be properly trained for the battle of life. Perhaps it does no harm for a family to feel the stress of want to a certain degree, as an incentive to work and co-operation. But only to a certain degree, and only when there is reasonable hope that they will be sufficiently trained to meet the situation and in a measure to rise above it. In this case, as with nations as a whole, it is the medium that should be aimed at; that is, that in a more or less ideal society, families would not be so small as to be trained to merely luxurious lives and not so large as to be hopelessly handicapped in the struggle for existence.

IV.—It may therefore be accepted that in a general way it is advisable for society to possess some check in advance on its increase of population. It remains to be proved that the preventive checks available are both harmless and effective. This is a more difficult matter, since ample evidence is not easy to obtain, and the results of the same check are not alike in different individuals. In theory it would appear to be an easy enough matter to obviate the act of conception, that is, to prevent the sperm from meeting with a ripe ovum. But in practice there are several attendant difficulties which are, in the minds of some medical men, great enough to make the use of preventive methods physiologically undesirable.

The methods in vogue may be divided into three classes—(1) those which depend upon the confining of intercourse to the infertile period of the monthly cycle of the woman; (2) those adopted by the male; and (3) those adopted by the female.

As regards the first method, there is the usual conflict

of expert opinion. Some authorities declare that it is in nearly all cases impossible for conception to take place in the interval between a few days after and a few days preceding the menstrual flow. They compare menstruation to rut, and assert the infertility of the rutting animal, except during the rutting season, in proof of their position. Others assert that it is quite possible for conception to occur at any point on the monthly cycle, and that the check is therefore unreliable. Where there is so much variety in individual constitution, it is, of course, impossible to come to any definite conclusion; the check may act with perfect certainty in one case and disappoint all expectations in another. But on the average it diminishes to a very considerable extent the possibility of conception. It is likely to prove sufficiently reliable in most cases where the needs of limitation are not great and an occasional failure of the check would not be a serious misfortune.

This check has other advantages, to which we shall return later. The preventive means which may be adopted by the male are two in number. The first is the familiar device of Onan, (which gives the name of Onanism to the very different practice of sodomy) whereby the penis is withdrawn from the vagina just before the moment of ejaculation. This check is credited with injurious effects to both the male and the female. It is essential to the reciprocity and completeness of the sexual act that it should be completed under the conditions of intimate contact which render it possible. Otherwise it becomes, for both male and female, a form of masturbation, and is liable, if indulged in frequently, to produce the weakening effects of that method of sexual gratification. As a preventive check, it is, of course, absolutely reliable, if carefully accomplished; but this seems to be the sole argu-

ment in its favour, and doubtfully outweighs its physiological and æsthetic disadvantages.

The other check of this class is less satisfactory still. It consists in the retention of the semen by means of a sheath of thin rubber or other elastic material which envelops the penis. So long as the sheath remains whole, it is an absolute preventative; but it is frequently apt to tear and so become practically useless. To the objection arising out of this constant risk must be added several physiological disadvantages. In the first place the interposition of a film between sensitive parts which ought to be in actual contact dulls the perfection of the sexual act, and is apt to result in exhaustion, apparently by disturbing the nervous reciprocity, the electrical give and take, of the act. Further, the retention of the semen disturbs the climax of the act in the female, and is, in fact, a physiological disappointment which is likewise not without its exhausting effects. The use of the sheath seems to bring the sexual act half way at least towards the level of masturbation. In any case it destroys the physiological completeness of the act and is by no means hygienically perfect. It has even been accused of causing a feeling of disgust and aversion to sexual intercourse. Such a feeling is, of course, a natural result of genital exhaustion.

The checks employed by women are more diverse in mechanical detail, but they may be grouped in two classes. In one the semen is prevented from reaching the womb by the interposition of some object of suitable form in the vagina. In the other, water, usually containing some antiseptic compound in solution, is injected into the vagina immediately after coitus, and so destroys the spermatozoa. Frequently the object used in the first group serves the double purpose of obstructing the vaginal passage and

killing the fecundating germs. It is sometimes a sponge, soaked in some sterilising solution, and sometimes a pessary containing an antiseptic which effects its purpose by dissolving gradually in the vagina. In other cases the pessaries are made of rubber. The composition of the antiseptic washes varies greatly; the best of them instantaneously produce the desired sterilising effect and also exercise a tonic effect on the genital regions.

Opinions differ greatly as to both the reliability and the physiological harmlessness of these forms of preventative. It is plain that, as regards the latter at least, a great deal must depend on personal idiosyncracies; that is, that one mode of prevention may be quite harmless in one case and injurious in another. As regards both reliability and harmlessness, much depends upon the care and intelligence with which the preventive method is adopted. The reckless use of cold-water, for instance, may lead to inflammation of the womb; and the postponement of the injection until a considerable time after coitus is, of course, likely to render it ineffectual. The consensus of opinion seems to favour some form of soluble pessary, combined, to render assurance doubly sure, with an antiseptic injection. Certainly, if this combined method is carefully employed, and if intercourse is limited to the comparatively sterile period between the menses, the risk of conception is reduced to a minimum. There is nothing harmful in the action of the pessary itself, and the bracing influence of some antiseptic compound is a distinct benefit.

This form of check has the crowning advantage that it interferes in no way with the sexual act itself. After ejaculation, the only action which takes place is on the part of the spermatozoa, which, by their own efforts, aided partly by cilia on the walls of the passages they traverse, endeavour

to make their way towards the ovum. That is, the orgasm is the climax of nervous activity in coitus; after it, all that takes place is purely automatic and involves no sensations. Interference can be made at this point without any such effect on the nervous system as is involved in the use of the sheath, or the practice of withdrawal before emission. There is no dulling of genital excitation, no risk of genital exhaustion, and little likelihood of disturbance of the menstrual function. The principle of this form of check is consequently more physiologically sound than any of the others; and the problem of making it equally satisfactory in practice is surely, if not already solved, not beyond the powers of modern medical ingenuity.

Only a passing reference is required to the belief that the prolonged nursing of one child prevents the conception of another. There seems to be no foundation whatever for this popular idea; and the only effect of the practice seems to be an injurious one on mother and child. How the notion originated it is difficult to say. Probably it should be placed in the same class as the superstition that the touch of a menstruating woman has an ill effect on the curing of hams.

All these forms of preventive methods are, with the exception of the first, objected to on æsthetic grounds. They are held to destroy the spontaneity, the emotional abandon, of the sexual act, and to vulgarise it in a manner which is a standing offence to refined feelings. So important do such æsthetic objections become to sensitive minds that Mr. Edward Carpenter will find many sympathisers in his desire to substitute for all mechanical checks the one which alone demands the performance of no matter-of-fact operation—that is, that which relies on the temporary infertility of the female.

But while there is no doubt a sense of incongruity in the use of obtrusive prudential means either before or after a period of intense passional excitement, much may be done by habit to lessen the feeling. Familiarity breeds, if not contempt, at least indifference; and the preventive operations performed at first with a sense almost of disgust rapidly become less offensive until they are accomplished without any marked feeling of aversion. The æsthetic objections are greater against the checks which are employed before coitus, since they disturb the spontaneity of the intercourse. Those employed after coitus are less objectionable, since they have to be attended to at a time of nervous placidity, when there is no keenness of desire to be blunted. But in both cases, custom is likely to refine away the natural feeling of dislike. In course of time, the action associated with the preventative comes to be performed with much the same indifference as the act of urinating, which is certainly not less offensive from the æsthetic standpoint.

Admitting, however, that no form of preventive check is free from drawbacks on the score of unreliability, physiological injury, or æsthetic offensiveness, it is still open to proof that these drawbacks are less important than the evils which the preventive check would cure. Certainly the physiological, moral, and economic evils of excessive child-bearing are likely to outweigh ten or a hundred times the evils which may or may not result from the use of some preventive check. The evils in the former case are necessary and permanent; in the other they are temporary and often, if not always, avoidable. If the preventive check is indeed a source of evil, then the choice lies between two evils, of which there is no doubt which is the less. The fact remains that the preventive check is the only really

practicable method of checking population in advance, the only one which is at all likely to be adopted by the people at large.

There is another method of family limitation which, though not properly a preventive check, may best be considered in this connection. During pregnancy it sometimes happens that, through accident or organic defect on the part of the mother, the foetus is prematurely expelled from the womb and so destroyed. The same occurrence may be brought about by the use of drugs or by various mechanical operations on the womb; and where the illness of pregnancy is so acute as to threaten the life of the mother, it is the only means whereby the sacrifice of two lives may be prevented. But such cases are comparatively rare; and artificial abortion is usually employed from other considerations than those of health. Although both the law and public opinion are strongly opposed to the practice, there is no doubt that it is extensively resorted to in all ranks of society. Among married women it is sometimes employed as a regular means of family limitation; and unmarried women rely upon it as a heroic measure to conceal the results of illicit unions. The cases which are exposed in our criminal courts are generally those in which clumsiness or incompetence on the part of the operator has produced serious or even fatal results. From the frequency of such cases—taking them as a small percentage of those successfully performed—we may form a shrewd notion of the real extent of the practice and of how ineffective the legal repression is in producing the desired end. The sole result of the legal penalties against abortion seems, indeed, to be to aggravate its ill effects. The operation in itself is simple enough, and, when performed with the care and skill devoted to an ordinary hos-

pital operation, involves no grave risk. But the legal and social opposition to it has given the quack his opportunity, and has further led to the operation being undertaken under the worst conditions of secrecy, haste, and distress. Thus it is that abortion brings with it a long train of physical misery and continues steadily to claim its victims.

Before touching upon the difficult subject of the morality of artificial abortion, it may be as well to note that the practice would be considerably less frequent if the preventive check were intelligently adopted. Ignorance of the existence of preventive methods, carelessness in their application, and laziness in not adopting them at all, are responsible for the vast majority of those pregnancies which are cut short by abortion. We are therefore obliged to add the prevention of abortion to the list of advantages of the preventive check.

The moral repugnance to abortion is based on the instinctive aversion to the destruction of human life. The foetus is regarded as potentially a human being, and its abortion as potentially a murder. Nevertheless it seems a stretch of sentimental imagination to extend the laws of human society to the embryo. Birth is really the beginning of individual life; previous to that the organism is merely part of the mother and its interests are subservient to hers. In the cases of extreme illness already alluded to, it would be distinctly immoral to refuse abortion and so run the risk of a fatal result, merely on the principle that the life of the foetus is as sacred as that of the mother. And it is not difficult to imagine that the birth of a child may sometimes be fatal to the interests of both mother and offspring—so productive, that is, of moral misery and degradation that abortion appears as the less of two evils. This is a case in which the immorality lies

far more in the circumstances than in the act itself. Everything depends upon the motive. It would certainly be dogmatic to insist that there are no cases in which the act would be as beneficial to the moral health of the mother as it is necessary to the physical health in cases of serious illness.

V.—Perhaps the strongest argument against Neo-malthusianism is that its principles, like most principles of forethought and common sense, will be acted upon only by the better-educated classes, while the lower classes will continue to procreate with the rapidity and carelessness of natural instinct. It seems almost a tautology to state that the problem of poverty lies almost entirely with the poor. But the fact is that the poor themselves aggravate their unfortunate condition by burdening themselves with families of six or a dozen, when they have only the means to deal properly by two or three. They soon come to look upon children as a misfortune, and to greet every innocent newcomer as an additional burden on already over-weighted shoulders. And the lower the stratum of poverty the larger the families which parents, with a bland faith in Providence and the system of poor law relief, bring into the world.

The gospel of Neo-malthusianism must be preached there, if it is to be usefully preached anywhere; and it is precisely there that it has no effect. Various Malthusian agencies have made commendable efforts to spread a knowledge of simple preventive means among the lower classes, but they have, naturally enough, made little headway against the dead weight of ignorance and carelessness. The upper classes are the only ones which have any practical command of preventive means; and they have not failed to utilise them. A striking extreme case is that of the

American millionaire, whose family seldom exceeds two or three. The situation is similar in Europe; and it simply means that so far the effect of Neo-malthusianism has mainly been to reduce the number of offspring of the more fortunate classes, so that the luxuries possessed by these classes are not spread over a much larger number of individuals of the succeeding generation. In other words, Neo-malthusianism, which aimed at levelling up the standard of comfort to a certain degree, has so far succeeded only in aiding the upper classes to maintain their high level. The lower poverty-stricken classes are as numerous and destitute as before. The comparative sterility of the rich is, in fact, a social evil which has to be reckoned with as well as the excessive fertility of the poor.

A certain modification of this view of the practical failure of Neo-malthusianism must be made. Society is not composed of all rich and all poor; between the two extremes there are numberless gradations of wealth and poverty. It is among the middle classes of society, among the families earning moderate incomes, that Neo-malthusianism is likely to take, and indeed has already taken, real and beneficial hold. The limitation of such families is often as essential to their due education and comfort as among the proletariat; it is notorious that the pinch of poverty may be felt quite as keenly in families which are outwardly well-to-do, as in those which make no disguise of their condition. In any case, the limited income of these middle-class families implies the necessity of a corresponding limitation of the family burdens to be borne. The parents of such families are usually sufficiently well educated to appreciate the advantages, both to themselves and to society, of rearing a few well-brought-up children

in place of a brood of imperfectly-educated ones. Unfortunately such classes are particularly prone to be under the influence of religious prejudice, and to regard children as a dispensation of Providence, to be borne—in a double sense—with Christian resignation. They are thus peculiarly subject to the prejudice against any preventive interference with conception, and are slow to be persuaded of their right to take the matter of child-bearing into their own hands. With the decay of religious superstition, we may hope to see the growth of a sane opinion on this important subject. Meanwhile it must be admitted that Neo-malthusianism tends to appeal least of all to those classes which would be most benefited by the adoption of its principles.

There is one country in which Neo-malthusianism has been carried very largely into practice—we refer to France. It is usually pointed to as a bad example of Neo-malthusianism, and as a warning against encouraging the doctrine of family limitation. The birth rate there is decreasing, and the authorities are casting about in their minds for some method of inducing people to have large families. The country is looked upon as being in a state of decay; and it is everywhere compared unfavourably with other European countries where the population is increasing. But there are reasons for thinking that the country is not in such a parlous condition as some of its critics would have us believe. If a reduced population were really the cause of social stagnation, that stagnation would show itself in the slackness of agricultural, manufacturing, and other industries. But, taking the country at large, there seems to be no sign of unusual industrial slackness; the people are active, intelligent, and progressive. Indeed they seem to be so thoroughly satisfied with

their condition under a diminishing birth-rate that they will not be induced to make any general effort towards raising the rate. They judge the matter from their own point of view, and are not inclined to envy the state of the general population in countries where the struggle for existence is rendered so much keener by the stress of overpopulation.

There is, in fact, a fallacy involved in accepting increase of population as a sign of national prosperity. If it were always and certainly so, then the most fertile nations would be the most successful. But almost the reverse is the case—as, indeed, we might judge from Spencer's view of the relation of progress to fertility. The most progressive and successful races are not distinguished by their fecundity but by their intelligence. The people of India are much more fertile than the English, the Chinese than the Japanese; the negro of the United States than the white American, the Irish than the English or Scotch, and the Jews than the people who have persecuted them for centuries. There is a tendency, in this age of territorial aggrandisement and extension of Empire, to measure the value of everything by its size; accordingly a nation is great, not because of its achievements in the arts and sciences, but because of the magnitude of its national undertakings. Quantity is the standard, not quality; and the diminishing birth-rate of France is taken to be a sign of decay because it means a decrease in numbers. It is not necessarily a disadvantage to a country to lack that excess of population which helps to make colonies possible. At any rate, the real evil effect of a great decrease in population does not lie simply in the decrease of actual numbers, but in the effect it has in lowering the intensity of the struggle for existence beyond the point that is socially

beneficial. Competition is, within limits, a perfectly healthy incentive to activity and enterprise; a luxurious life is as bad for society as it is for the individual. Therefore it is possible that France may be experiencing the evils of under-population.

But even in that case the Neo-malthusian principle is untouched; the mistake lies in its over-application. In the complex conditions of modern national and international life, it is extremely difficult to say when the ideal balance has been reached. No two observers would be likely to agree as to what the ideal balance ought to be. Thus it would be rash to dogmatically assert that France has understepped the ideal limit. It would be equally rash to assume that the evils of under-population are as serious as those of over-population.

Another strong objection to the Neo-malthusian doctrine is that the preventive check gives a most undesirable freedom to the sexual passions, by removing the restraint of probable parentage. In other words, it would be a direct encouragement to sexual excess and to illicit relations.

As far as the excess is concerned, the objection implies that there is a general tendency to indulge in more frequent sexual intercourse than is physiologically beneficial. It would be by no means easy to demonstrate this tendency under the ordinary conditions of the sexual life. The amount of sexual intercourse which may be called normal and healthy differs with each individual, and with various external circumstances, such as mode of life, etc. Moreover, the most unmistakeable cases of sexual excess are those which occur during the first weeks of marriage, or in similar cases where there is free opportunity for intercourse after a long spell of abstinence.

The average man or woman who places little or no moral restraint on the promptings of the sexual instinct is as little likely to yield to sexual excesses as to excesses in eating and drinking. Excessive exercise of the sexual organs produces exhaustion, with its accompanying feeling of disgust and aversion to coitus. Thus excess is really its own cure, and the existence of the sexual appetite is a natural evidence of a healthy capacity for coitus. People who freely obey the impulses of that appetite, follow a natural law of their beings, and are therefore physiologically justified in their action. Among people of ordinary character and health, the preventive check does not lead, as far as the evidence goes, to any distinct excess. Where they possess gross appetites, they will, of course, tend to exceed the normal limits. But in such cases the excess would take place even without the incitement of an irresponsible method of intercourse; moral and social responsibilities have in any case a very slight appeal to the sensual nature. There is therefore little enough ground for condemning the preventive check as an inducement to sexual excess.

Nor is it just to conclude that the preventive check would be effective in merely encouraging illicit relations. That it has an appreciable effect in that direction is undeniable. Nevertheless, and apart from the fact that it is not necessary to consider all so-called illicit relations as immoral, it must be recognised that the preventive check is a direct encouragement to early marriage. It enables couples to enter into the closest bonds of intimacy with a secure sense of their power to keep their parental responsibilities at any desired level. It thus affords a sexual outlet which is the best practical safeguard against vice and illicit relations. In other words, it is as powerful an aid to mar-

riage as it is an incitement to those less stable connections which do not receive the sanction of social approval.

There is also a suspicion in some quarters that the preventive check itself, apart from all economic considerations, would lead to a weakening of parental instinct in both male and female, and would result in a vast number of marriages being childless. This suspicion presupposes two things: first, that sexual intercourse is the main object of the sexual life, and, second, that parental responsibility is more often forced upon people than sought by them. As regards the first supposition, it has already been remarked that sexual intercourse is the condition, not the climax, of a complete sexual life. Only a long course of sexual abstinence can induce that mental condition which makes the physical sexual act appeal as the supreme phenomenon of sex, to the exclusion of the beauty of affectionate intimacy and of the intense and permanent love of children and of home. More disappointments in love are caused by this exaggeration of the importance of the sexual act than by any other cause with the exception, perhaps, of incompatibility of temper. The lover soon finds that there is nothing less stable than genital desire, and that unless his erotic passions have a wide emotional basis, and are sustained by the intellectual qualities of admiration and respect, they are almost certain to vanish with the satisfaction of physical desire. Therefore, if he has had any sexual experience to speak of—and the case applies to women also—he knows that freedom of sexual intercourse is the most effective thing possible in reducing the physical side of sex to the almost secondary position which it ought to occupy.

The second presupposition—that parental responsibility

is seldom willingly sought—ignores the deep-seated nature of the maternal instinct and the reality, though not the equal intensity, of the paternal instinct. Civilisation has given birth to the latter; and it is not likely to have any lasting detrimental effect on the former. It may even be questioned whether the maternal instinct is not stronger than the female sexual instinct; it is certainly likely to be so, from its more important organic basis. Its general elimination would be indeed a natural impossibility. And a discouraging influence of far more importance than the opportunities of preventive intercourse, is the excessive child-bearing which that intercourse seeks to prevent. The exhaustion produced by over-procreation produces a dislike to maternity among its victims, and their dislike tends to be reflected on the general attitude of the sex towards marriage. The decay of the spontaneous maternal instinct is in fact one of the direct effects of over-population.

If a general prophecy on the future of Neo-malthusianism may be ventured upon, it is that society will gradually recognise that there is a limit beyond which the increase of certain classes is inadvisable, and that the preventive check will become a recognised means of keeping the rate of increase within the limit. The change so effected is almost certain to have a beneficial effect on the economic condition of the masses, though it is by no means likely to solve the problem of poverty altogether. Combined with an improvement in the methods of distribution of wealth and in the economic position of women, the rational practice of Neo-malthusianism will aid materially in that consummation. It may indeed be looked upon as essential to it. It is at any rate the sole means by which the physiological and economic burdens of excessive child-bearing may be lightened. Like all human devices, it has

its disadvantages; and we have endeavoured to show that on an independent estimate they do not outweigh its advantages. Many of the drawbacks are imaginary, belonging to the sphere of conventional morals and æsthetics. All of its advantages are actual; and we are therefore justified in admitting the preventive check as a factor in the solution of the sexual problem.

CHAPTER VII.

THE SCIENTIFIC IDEAL.

- I.—The scientific ideal re-defined—The essential benefit of sexuality—Sexual ideal the antithesis of celibacy—Ideal sex life strictly monogamous—The fallacy of free-love—Offspring in relation to the sex question—The family, the parent, and the state—M. Letourneau's prophecy—Polygamy and the sexual ideal.
- II.—Marriage and the monogamous ideal—Marriages of convenience—Affection the essential condition of the morality of sexual unions—The new attitude towards illicit unions—Their morality discussed—The non-social nature of the sexual life—The regulation of sex unions—Illicit unions and the preventive check—Their relation to the sexual ideal.
- III.—Marriage and illicit unions—The illicit union as a preparation for marriage—Its effect on the laws of legitimacy—The justification of these laws considered—Effect of ostracism of bastards—The real duty of society.
- IV.—Divorce and separation—Their justification—The faults of existing laws—Marital misery and the marriage bond—Incompatibility of temper a just cause of divorce—The petty tyrannies of married life—The scientific view of the dissolution of marriage.
- V.—Practical difficulties of the sexual ideal—Sexual grossness—Seduction and desertion—Sexual abnormalities—The evolution of character itself a drawback—Counteracting influence of sexual experience.
- VI.—The sexual ideal and the education of women—Women and social conventions—The economic independence of women—Its effect on the marriage contract—On sexual relations in general—Women have the solution of the sexual problem in their own hands.

I.—In the course of our discussion of the various solutions of the sex problem, we have more than once indicated the ideal solution towards which a scientific study of man and society may be considered to point. It is now necessary to formulate that ideal with more exactness, and to discover how far society is from attaining it and by what means the attainment is likely to come about.

The ideal itself is founded upon a belief in the essential beneficence, physical, moral, and intellectual, of sexuality, and upon the demonstrated dualism of sex. These are the cardinal points from which any discussion of the practical sex problem must depart and to which it must return. The latter is a plain matter of fact; the former is a direct inference from facts and arguments which have been elucidated in the preceding chapters. If the views therein expressed—mainly in reference to celibacy and the psychology of sex—are sound, it is impossible to deny that the sexual life is *per se* the best for mankind. Hence we derive the principle that the ideal solution of the sex problem lies in the development of sexuality so as to produce the greatest amount of individual happiness which is consistent with the well-being of others. With this limiting condition, the ideal sex life is found in the complete sex life—including, on the physical side, the due exercise of the sexual functions; on the moral side, the exercise of those emotional qualities which are associated with the dual life of sexual intimacy; and on the intellectual side, that extension of human experience and encouragement of mental effort which come from the same source.

The scientific ideal of sex is therefore the antithesis of celibacy. It is, further, a monogamous ideal, inasmuch as the essential duality of sex implies a close exclusive dual relation as its perfect expression. This relation must also

be permanent to possess its full value. Under the mutable conditions of some free-love systems which have been recently advocated, complete personal intimacy is impossible. The physical side of the intimacy is in fact the only one which is attained to any extent; the higher emotional and intellectual intimacy is a matter of slow growth, of constant companionship, of community of individual, economic, and social interests. It cannot be gained when the sexual potentialities are dissipated over a number of fleeting unions, and continually twisted and turned by fresh affections. The essential fallacy of free-love lies, in fact, in its failure to realise that a true and satisfactory sex union is a matter of time. Not all at once can the physical, emotional, and mental energies associated with sex be made to converge upon one object, to run through a single channel of affection. And until they do so converge, the sex relationship has not reached the standard of perfection; it must lack some element of the emotional or mental reciprocity which goes to form a complete dual intimacy.

The principle of free-love further errs in minimising the influence of offspring in consummating a sexual union. In this matter, it is not only free-love that errs, since many theories of the sex life which are opposed to mutable relations, seem to regard a sexual union as completed when the conditions of physical and social union are attained. It is not difficult, however, to show that an ideal sexual union implies, as a necessary element of its perfection, the creation and mutual care of the child. The sexual instinct is closely bound up with both the maternal and the paternal instinct—so closely, in the case of the former, as to be sometimes almost indistinguishable. The maternal instinct is quite as deep-seated as the sexual instinct;

perhaps more so, as it often survives it. The paternal instinct is almost a product of civilisation; it lacks that large organic basis which gives the maternal feeling its strength and stability. Nevertheless it is in well-civilised natures a real instinct, and it points with equal directness, if less force, to the child as the natural outcome and completion of the life of sex. It is the peculiarity of evolution not to alter, except in very exceptional cases, the fundamental instincts of organisms; it builds upon these, adding to them various emotional and intellectual elements as development towards a higher stage is accomplished. Thus it is difficult to picture a condition of society in which the maternal instinct, and even the paternal instinct, will be absent or feeble in the majority of the race. Not only do the old instincts remain, but the direct tendency of human evolution is to strengthen them, by enlarging the sphere of their influence. Parental care means far more now than mere feeding and protection; it involves a host of duties connected with moral and intellectual education. These duties, when performed in common by the parents, form an additional bond of union which, combined with mutual love of offspring, strengthens and intensifies the purely sexual bond. In the life of nature, the birth of offspring is the undoubted consummation of a sexual union; and since the whole tendency of moral and intellectual progress has been to enlarge the field of parental responsibility, that consummation is still more important to civilised man.

We are obliged, in fact, to admit the truth of the paradox that the training of children is as much an education for the parents as for the children themselves. The opportunities it affords for the enlargement of the sympathies, for greater insight into the workings of human

thought and feeling, for the deepening of the emotional life in the mutual care of an object of affection; such qualities as these make the life of the family a unique field for the exercise of the higher human qualities of intelligence and sympathy. It is noteworthy, too, that the advent of the child does not destroy in the slightest degree the essential duality of the sexual life. As a matter of fact it strengthens and confirms that duality, by affording a new point at which the feelings of male and female may converge and become still more closely identified.

These considerations are, in view of the individual and social value of the parental instinct, so obvious that it is almost surprising to find so keen a man of science as M. Letourneau hinting at a time when the rearing of children will become a duty of the public authority and not of the parent. The only argument in favour of the change is an economic one, since the wholesale rearing of children would be cheaper than the present home system. But, apart from the consideration of the exercise of the parental instinct, there is no likelihood that the state would be a success in baby-farming. The proper education of a child demands a close insight into its character, and that can only be obtained through constant and sympathetic study. Such study is impossible where children are reared in groups, and under a system; so that, however intelligently the state might undertake its work, the conditions are altogether against its success. It is useless to argue that many parents are incapable of duly educating their children, for there is no guarantee that the officials of the state would be any more capable. They would certainly lack the personal sympathy which is the essence of child education. But even if the arguments were as strong in favour of the state rearing of children as they are against

it, the parental instinct may be relied upon to preserve the home in much the same form as it exists at present. Only when want or the disgust produced by excessive child-bearing has weakened that instinct, can we expect the average parent to regard such a revolutionary proposal with favour. The home is, in short, not a mere social convention; it is a natural fact.

Polygamy is in very much the same case as free-love, with regard to the dissipation of sexual affection and the derogation of the parental instincts which it involves. We have already noted, in our chapter on the evolution of marriage, that polygamous habits were more probably due to the preponderance of females than to the greater sexual capacity of males. In other words, polygamy was due to external causes, not to inherent differences in sexual vigour. These causes operated for so many generations of savage and barbaric life that the polygamous tendency has almost become an acquired instinct among civilised races. The organic needs of man have therefore a natural tendency to extend beyond the limits of monogamy; and from that point of view there is something to be said for the polygamous regime.

But on the other hand, polygamy is never indulged in without destructive results on the perfection of the sex life. However natural it may be for man to satisfy his physical sexual needs with more than one partner, it is impossible for him to form with all partners those close associations of sympathy and interests which go to the making of the ideal sex union. Only the physical side of the union can be complete in each case; and even then there is room for doubt, since, in an exclusive dual connection on a basis of mutual desire, the physical sex act is bound up with a crowd of higher emotions which are

likely to be absent from the secondary polygamous unions. It cannot be too often reiterated that it is essential to the perfection of the sex life that all the faculties awakened by sexual passion—physical, emotional, and mental—must converge on a single individual who reciprocates the feelings of which he or she is the object. Any violation of the strictness of monogamy spoils that perfection, to the extent that it dissipates the sexual faculties.

The nearest approach which polygamy can make to the ideal form of sex life is when it becomes a form of concubinage. Close associations are then formed with one partner only; the other associations are as far as possible on a purely physical plane. In modern civilised societies, that is the frequent outcome of the polygamous instinct, acting under an outwardly strict monogamous regime. Its effects are less derogatory to the moral health than open polygamy, for two reasons. In the first place, the low physical nature of the outside connections—though degrading in itself—has the advantage of leaving the emotional and other elements in the central connection untouched. It is not an unfrequent thing to find a man who performs all the duties of a husband and a father in an apparently satisfactory fashion, and who yet is not guiltless of the moral crimes of concubinage or prostitution. In the second place, the outside unions are usually sterile, thanks to the preventive check and the organic effects of prostitution. The offspring of such unions would not only be themselves handicapped by social influences and the circumstances of their birth, but their presence would handicap the fortunes of the legitimate family, by dissipating the familial feelings—to say nothing of the economic drain which they would also cause. Therefore, although from a theoretical moral standpoint, any sexual intercourse outside the one

recognised bond is to be condemned, it is better for the strength of that bond and for the general social health, that such intercourse should be free from the distraction of ardent passion and should be in all cases sterile.

II.—If the scientific study of sex thus points so clearly to an exclusive dual relationship, with all its physical and other results, it may be asked wherein it differs from the monogamous ideal which is now so generally accepted. The answer plainly is: not in any degree. But it by no means follows that it likewise accords with the institution of marriage in which the monogamous ideal is supposed to be embodied. There is a world of difference, in fact, between the natural monogamous connection and the marital relationship. The former is the outward expression of the best that lies in the sexuality of man; the latter is a creation in which religious and moral superstitions have played a most important part, not always to the benefit of individual and social health. We have already, in our chapter on marriage, touched upon some of the practical effects of the superstitious view of the sex relations, notably in connection with the inherent sanctity of the marriage bond. These matters must now be discussed in greater detail.

The marriage bond is, in fact, the central feature of our conventional morality of sex, the great criterion of sexual good and evil. In itself it is no more than a formality, but its due observance is enough to transform an immoral liaison into a respectable union. It does not involve—we are here speaking quite generally—the necessity of any mutual affection, beyond the small measure of regard which makes the prospect of the union tolerable. Even that is sometimes absent in those acts of legalised prostitution which go by the name of marriages of convenience. The

utmost that social opinion demands in practice is mutual consent to the due performance of the ceremony; when that is obtained and the ceremony performed, the social conscience is satisfied. Not only do law and custom take no steps to discourage unions which are not dictated, at least in part, by any mutual desire, but both take every step in their power to discourage all unlegalised unions, no matter how sincere and lofty the affection which has given rise to them.

To the independent mind the contrast so afforded is a most striking one. On the one hand we have a professedly moral society welcoming couples who have entered into the closest sexual relationships with hardly even the justification of brute passion; and on the other hand we have that same society ostracising all those who refuse to seal their unions of real affection by a formal ceremony. Nothing could exemplify better the narrow and Pharisaic ideal of sex relations which is current in modern society. With that ideal in view, the natural criterion of the morality of a sex union is abandoned, and in its place is erected a purely artificial standard, by means of which sex unions of the basest and most immoral description may be made to appear holy and respectable.

The essential condition of the morality of any sexual union whatsoever is that it should be the result of mutual affection. There are, of course, other conditions, relating to individual, social, and economic matters; but that condition at least is necessary. For without it there is no guarantee that the partners in the union will be able to fulfil those duties of the sex life in which mutual desire, sympathy, and respect play a most prominent part. The whole sex life, indeed, hangs upon reciprocal passion; without that, a union of the sexes is a husk without the

kernel, a shadow without the substance. From the natural standpoint, the sex life without love is an impossibility, and that life requires no other sanctification than the love which is its essence, its mainspring. In other words, no ceremony, religious or civil, can render the bond of mutual affection any more moral than it is by its own natural right. And society has no moral right to ask more, in the first instance, than that the bond should be mutual and sincere.

This view is, of course, in direct opposition to the religious attitude towards the sex life. That attitude implies the natural uncleanness of all sexual relations, save those which have had their stain removed by the thaumaturgy of a priest. Such a notion can no longer be entertained when the evolution of the sex life and the true nature of the sex functions are understood. But it still inspires the majority of people—even of those who have professedly abandoned the standpoint of supernatural religion. It leads to an antagonism between the current opinion and what we take leave to call the scientific opinion, on the important question of unregulated unions. The moral system which religion has inspired regards all sex relations outside of marriage as immoral; that inspired by science regards the bond of affection as the one moral justification of all relations, including and apart from marriage. Therefore it is not a matter of certainty, from the point of view of scientific morality, that an unregulated union is harmful either to the individual or to society. It is also a matter of uncertainty that a duly regulated union is always to be regarded as morally right.

The result of adopting a natural system of sexual morality is, in fact, to revolutionise the verdict of society on illicit unions and on the unquestioned morality of the

marriage system. By illicit unions we do not mean, in this connection, those of polygamy, concubinage, or prostitution, whose moral drawbacks have already been considered. We mean those unions of unattached individuals which are entered into without the ceremony of marriage and its attendant social recognition. The morality of these unions is dependent, in the first instance, upon the quality of the affection which gives rise to them. If it be nothing higher than brute desire, it is merely on the level of prostitution, and deserves just the same consideration. But if it includes those more stable and refined feelings which characterise the higher forms of human love, then it must be regarded as morally good to the extent of these feelings. The more complete and sincere the affection, the more morally satisfactory is the union and the more likely is it to result in the well-being of the individuals concerned.

At this point it will probably be objected that there is no reason why a mutual affection of so sincere a character should not result in marriage—why, in fact, the union should not be duly acknowledged before the world. To this there is the obvious answer that not in all cases of mutual affection is marriage possible or advisable. Marriage, it must be remembered, is not merely a formal consummation, a social justification, of a sexual union; it is a contract which involves a number of material responsibilities, among which the care of wife and offspring is the most important. In these days of a keen struggle for existence, combined with a constantly rising standard of comfort, there are innumerable cases of men and women, well advanced in years, who are unable to undertake these responsibilities. Our conventional system of morality would deny them all sexual experience whatsoever, granting it only to those who are economically capable of

accepting the burdens of marriage. It thus deprives the former of a vast amount of physical, moral, and intellectual benefit, and further detracts from their moral health by encouraging hypocrisy, moral indifference, and the temptations of prostitution.

There are other considerations, such as difference in rank, which may make marriage socially inadvisable, but which do not militate seriously against a form of union which does not involve the social and economic duties of marriage.

It is further to be noted that a sexual union *in itself* is a compact with which society as a whole has nothing whatever to do. Such a compact is a private arrangement between two individuals; and its moral character depends entirely upon its effect on the well-being of each. The social well-being only comes into consideration when children become a factor in the case. Society has a right to demand that children should be properly cared for by those who bring them into the world; and it is also within its natural rights in enforcing that demand by legal measures. The result is that it is no longer moral for a union to remain unregulated after the birth of offspring. It is essential to the social health that parentage should in all cases be duly recognised and that its duties should be subject to legal supervision. The marriage contract ensures both conditions; and for that reason it should certainly be enforced on the parties of such unregulated unions as have resulted in childbirth.

Since such a result is likely to occur in nine cases out of ten, where no precaution is taken, it is plain that the continuance of an unregulated union as a moral, or at least morally harmless, form of sex life depends upon the use of some effective preventive check. In the preceding

chapter, we came to the conclusion that the preventive measures at present available were entitled to rank as effective instruments for their purpose; that, in other words, the preventive check might be regarded as an agent in the solution of the sexual problem. It is not only valuable in the limitation of families under legal marriage, but in preventing conception in those unlegalised unions whose morality depends upon their sterility. It affords the only means whereby such unions can maintain their purely private character and their consequent freedom from social responsibilities. It alone permits of the closest sexual intimacy without the duties of parentage and without bringing the individuals concerned within the wide social and economic problems connected with these duties.

To this defence of the moral innocence of illicit unions, it may be objected that these unions fall very far short of the scientific ideal which was accepted as the standard to which all sexual unions should attain. Unless the parties to the union were constantly living together, it would be impossible for them to cultivate that close companionship which is essential to the full development of the higher elements of affection; and even if they did live under the same roof, the absence of children would be a drawback to the perfection of the union. Such objections are certainly sound enough, but the contention is not that the unregulated and sterile union is a perfect form of sex life, but that it is a vast improvement on the celibate life and is, further, the best cure, outside marriage itself, for prostitution, masturbation, and various other irregularities which society unanimously condemns. Here again it is a case of choosing the less of two evils: on the one hand we have the celibate life, with all its essential disadvan-

tages and its vicious accompaniments; on the other hand, the union of two individuals on a basis of mutual affection, both enjoying the physical, moral, and intellectual benefits of sexual companionship, without any detrimental effect on themselves, their neighbours, or society at large. Were it not for the superstitious belief in the sanctity of the marriage ceremony and of chastity, intelligent people would have no hesitation in deciding which to choose. And in spite of the currency of these superstitions, and of the risk involved in the practical imperfections of the preventive check, a large proportion of people do make the choice that is dictated by common-sense and a rational appreciation of human needs. It is impossible, of course, to estimate what proportion of apparently celibate men and women are actually partners in such unions, but there is little doubt that the phenomenon is by no means a rare one in any rank of modern society.

Moreover, although the illicit union cannot rise to the perfection of the scientific ideal, inasmuch as it is sterile, it may come very close to it. If the partners of such a union elect to live together and thus identify their interests in the closest possible way, there is nothing in the circumstances of the case to hinder the ample development of their mutual affection. They may achieve the same level of intimacy as in a childless marriage, and benefit by the same education in sympathy and insight. And they enjoy the further benefit, that if, in the course of their intimacy, any serious incompatibility of temper or habit should make itself felt, the union may be dissolved without difficulty. For this reason illicit unions are likely to be more sincere than those marriage unions which are maintained by the fixity of the marriage bond rather than by spontaneous mutual desire. Their existence and dura-

bility depend, in fact, upon the sincerity of feeling on both sides, and are thus a token of the natural moral character of the unions.

III.—In actual life it often happens that illicit unions end in marriage. And this occurs not so much from the social necessity created by the arrival of offspring as from the natural tendency of all sincere and deep sexual feeling to result in the permanent monogamous union, with its accompaniments of home and family life. This natural tendency cannot be too often insisted upon, as it shows that men and women do not need to be urged by moral, social, or religious influences into a permanent dual union. They seek it of their own accord, however imperfectly they may attain it, however often they may fail in individual cases. The exclusive dual sexual union does not need the sanctification of law or religion, nor does it need to be buttressed by their approval or defended by their restrictions. It is, as we have already remarked, the form of sex life towards which civilisation is, for social, economic, and moral reasons, plainly tending; and the interference of church and court merely tends to obscure the natural character of the institution and to distort it into an ideal which is imposed for supernatural reasons upon a race which has no inherent fitness for it. The only formidable natural barrier to its attainment is the acquired polygamous instinct of man—an instinct which we may reasonably hope to see eradicated in the course of time. And it is worthy of notice that, as far as can be ascertained, a large number of the existing illicit unions are as exclusive as the most rigidly observed marriage. They are thus as direct a discouragement to polygamous tendencies as the marriage bond itself, and are satisfactory evidence that the educated sentiments of mankind may, and certainly will,

lead to sexual unions as honourable and as refined as the most ideal marriage.

The fact that so many illicit unions lead directly to marriage indicates that they may be regarded as agents in the important educative work of preparation for marriage. Marriage occupies the unique position of being a state of life which calls for the highest exercise of sympathy, forbearance, and initiative, and is yet entered into with the smallest amount of deliberate preparation. Mutual affection is the only safeguard which young couples usually have for the success of their married life, and the odds are so high against its meeting the many possible exigencies of that life, that no one can safely assert that the promise of the happiest wedding day will be fulfilled. It is really on the wedding day that bride and bridegroom begin to make each other's acquaintance. Not even the longest of engagements, nor the closest of intimacies which convention allows to unmarried couples, can supply that knowledge of character and idiosyncracies which one week of married life may reveal as by a flash of light.

The reason of this lies in the fact that without the basis of physical intimacy afforded by sexual intercourse, no complete intimacy is possible. Until the bodies of husband and wife are free to each other, there is a barrier between heart and mind which no amount of arm's-length companionship can scale. Then only are the last cloakings of reserve thrown off; then only does the character of each appear in its naked reality. That is why *la première nuit des noces* is so often a time of awakening, of sudden revelation of depths or heights of character previously unknown or only suspected. That is why the honeymoon is so often a period of sad disillusionment, and the first few months of wedded life see the last of those bright dreams which

each built round a false imaginary picture of the other.

It is impossible to conceive any means by which this close mutual insight and understanding may be gained except that of sexual union itself. The preaching of general principles of marital conduct and the exhortation to the development of various virtues which make for wedded bliss, are alike futile in face of the fact that no two marriages are alike. Each has to be treated in its own way, and by the efforts of the persons immediately concerned. This would not be so serious a matter if it were possible to retrieve the failures, that is, to dissolve those unions which, with the best intentions on both sides, and with every effort to adjust the differences of character, have proved unhappy. It is precisely this which the marriage bond renders impossible, except by various sordid and scandalous means. It is precisely, as we have before remarked, because marriage has no room for its failures that it is itself a failure.

With these facts in view, it will not be difficult to realise that illicit unions will not only lead directly to marriage, but to successful marriage. The chances of failure are reduced to a minimum when the consenting parties have gained, through months, and perhaps years, of close sexual relations, the same insight into each other's nature as would be afforded by an equal period of conventional marriage. Those who have already lived together cannot fail to know whether they are suited for the dual life of marriage; their certainty of success is as great as the uncertainty of the conventionally betrothed.

The illicit union may thus be accepted as a most valuable apprenticeship to marriage. As such it has much in common with the custom of "hand-fasting" which existed until recently in some of the western islands of

Scotland and other remote parts. Under that custom, couples lived together for a year without any ceremony having been performed; at the end of that time they were free to leave each other if the union proved sterile. If it proved fertile, a ceremony of marriage was performed. This custom plainly arose out of the desire of these communities to avoid sterile unions; but it possesses so real a value in producing successful marriages, that it might with advantage be continued in an altered form under the conditions of civilisation.

If the illicit union is to be recognised as a morally permissible form of sex life, it follows that the laws of legitimacy will have to be considerably altered. These laws, as they at present stand, are based upon that central superstition of sex, the sanctity of the marriage bond. They practically amount to the regulation that a child born out of wedlock is to be deprived of the legal status and rights of the child legitimately born. Social custom follows the legal custom in ostracising the illegitimate child, and so depriving him almost as completely of social rights. In all ranks of society—and, curiously enough, with perhaps most virulence in the lower ranks—the word “bastard” is used as a term of opprobrium, and the individual in question treated as a pariah. The sins of the father are visited on the children with all the relentlessness of the Mosaic law. But although our legal and conventional morality may be on the level of the Mosaic dispensation, the morality which it founded upon a rational study of the case, is not. To an independent and refined moral sense, it is infinitely repugnant to make a child the subject of open degradation simply because the intimacy of his father and mother was not legalised. However much the parents may be to blame, there is absolutely no

cause, no justification, for condemning the illegitimate child to a life of ostracism. Only a blind superstitious regard for the ceremony of marriage could render such a brutal injustice possible among people who are otherwise charitable to the unfortunate. Many children born out of wedlock start life under the most unfavourable conditions. They are often unwanted by the mother, and are in nearly all cases equally unwelcome to the father. Their care and education are usually left to the mother alone, and are sometimes relegated to strangers who are paid for their services and do as little as possible to earn their money. All these circumstances should render the bastard an object of pity, not of hatred, and should induce a truly moral society to minimise, as far as possible, the drawbacks under which the illegitimate child labours.

These drawbacks are undoubtedly due in the main to the puritanical attitude of modern society. Were the child who is born out of wedlock placed on exactly the same footing as the legitimate child, he would be equally welcome to his parents, and would therefore receive from them the ordinary share of parental affection and regard. Thus the excessive antipathy to illegitimate births is inimical to the interests of those individuals most nearly concerned—the children. It claims to be based on the social necessity of obliging all parents to give the legal guarantee, in the marriage contract, that the responsibilities of parentage will be duly observed. But this claim is obviously false; since even when the parents of an illegitimate child show their willingness to overtake all their duties, the law still does not permit them to legitimise the child. The feeling against illegitimacy is thus based almost entirely upon the superstitious regard for the legal marriage relation, and it will become weaker according as

that relation is more widely understood in its true light.

There is, of course, every reason why society should protect itself against the irresponsible procreation of offspring. It has a right to demand that children should be cared for to the extent of their parents' economic powers. But to do that, it is not necessary to ostracise the illegitimate child, or his parents either; all that is required is to make it a rule that parentage should involve its full responsibilities, apart from the marriage contract. Where these responsibilities are spontaneously undertaken, there is no call for social ostracism or condemnation of parent and child. Where they are evaded, or where the births are the result of extra-marital relations, there is an open field for the moral suasion which social opinion possesses. But it should be directed entirely towards the parents, who are the only responsible individuals in the case.

If society were to adopt such an attitude towards illicit unions, then the main drawback to their moral character would be removed. There would be little likelihood of their resulting in the birth of children who would be uncared for. It is equally unlikely that paternity would be, save in exceptional cases, denied; since the main reason for that denial under the present regime is the intense prejudice of public feeling. Under the conventional conditions of modern life, the desire for respectability is often so great as to overrule the paternal instinct, and even the maternal instinct as well. It is this desire, and not an unnatural lack of parental feeling, which is the cause of the repudiation of illegitimate children. Therefore the moral over-enthusiasm of society merely defeats its own end.

The conclusion of the whole matter is, that if two adult

independent people elect to form a union of any degree of sexual intimacy, society has no right to interfere with their action, on social or legal grounds, until such time as the union may result in offspring. Then only does the intimacy come in touch with the general social life and involve social responsibilities. It is upon the child, therefore, that the social and legal machinery of marriage should centre. It is it which forms the social, as well as the natural, consummation of the sex life; its interests are far more real and far more worthy than those of the supernatural sanctity of the bond which unites the parents. The child, in fact, is the one abiding marriage bond; and the recognition of that bond is a moral duty superior to all others in the sexual relationship.

IV.—The question of how the interests of the children may be protected in illicit unions is less complicated than the similar question in connection with unsuccessful marriages. We have previously noted that the sympathetic co-operation of the parents is essential to the complete care and education of the children. When, therefore, such co-operation is rendered impossible by any of the various causes of marital failure, the interests of the children are plainly jeopardised. It is, consequently, only under very definite conditions that the breaking of this natural bond can be justifiable; and in the settlement of these conditions lies the whole vexed question of the morality of divorce and separation.

There are some people, notably those who still regard marriage as a sacrament, who would prohibit divorce altogether. They would do so partly on behalf of the sacrament, and partly on behalf of the children. We need not discuss the religious argument further; the important matter to be emphasised here is that such prohibition

does not always prove for the good of the children. Marital unhappiness breeds either cold indifference, chronic discontent, or acute disagreement; and in any case it gives the atmosphere of the home a quality which is the exact opposite of the one desired. Many children have had their affectional nature blighted and their outlook on the world distorted by this atmosphere of indifference, dislike, and hatred. A happy home is certainly the greatest benefit a child can enjoy, and it is equally certain that an unhappy home is one of the greatest handicaps under which it can labour. So insidious and so harmful is the effect of parental disagreement, even when every effort is made to conceal it, that orphanage is far preferable to an upbringing under such unhappy auspices. In short, it is infinitely better that a child should know the affection of only one parent than that it should suffer under the divided and antagonistic sympathies of two.

Therefore, when a marriage has failed to bring happiness, the interests of the children alone justify separation. Nothing need be said of the interests of the husband and wife; the benefits of separation are in their case only too obvious. But under the existing laws of this country, marital unhappiness, however acute and obvious, is not accepted as a sufficient cause for annulling the marriage contract. In other words, however much misery the continuance of that contract may cause to the two individuals concerned, and however evil an influence that misery may have on their children, the law still demands that the contract shall be valid. The only escape from it is through adultery, cruelty, or desertion—that is, through the flagrant immorality of either partner. In cases where the original affection has, with husband or wife, been replaced by an extra-marital love, adultery loses its immoral

character, and is indeed a much more moral action than intercourse within the marital limits, where there is no mutual affection. But society nevertheless regards it as always immoral; and it is therefore necessary for a couple to face the risk of open scandal if they would be freed from the marriage bond.

In this way, marital misery is perpetuated far beyond the limits which are dictated by social necessity. From the natural point of view, the marriage contract, like all other sexual contracts, ceases to be valid with the death of the affection which gives it reality and strength. Therefore the question which arises when a marriage has proved a failure is not whether it should be dissolved, but how it may best be dissolved with a view to the happiness of each partner and the well-being of the children. These are matters for special decision in each case that arises; the principle is the same in all—that there should be no artificial bond between couples who have proved their unfitness for the marital relation. Morality demands it, for there is nothing more offensive to a healthy moral feeling than sexual intimacy without the motive of affection; social health demands it, so that the spontaneity of the marriage relation may be maintained; and the interests of the children demand it, so that their sympathies may not be warped by the constant spectacle of an unhappy union.

It is sometimes argued that if mere incompatibility of temper is made a valid ground for the dissolution of marriage, the result will be that people will marry more recklessly, knowing that they can sever the bond without trouble at any time. This argument assumes that the majority of people are prone to enter into the marriage relation without great chance of success, that in fact the

desire for divorce is a common result of marriage. It also assumes that the responsibilities of parentage are not serious enough to make people cautious, in the first place, about entering the marriage relation. The proof of these assumptions is by no means easy; but even if they were accepted as sound, it is not necessary to infer that society would suffer. An increase in sexual relations is in itself a benefit, since the influence of a duly exercised sexuality is a positive good to the physical and moral health. There is no likelihood that these relations would be in any sense promiscuous, in view of our analysis of the sexual capacities and wants of civilised man; and society can readily protect the interests of offspring by means of its legal machinery. Further, it is within its power to prevent the dissolution of marriage through mere caprice or spleen or for any unworthy purpose. By enacting that several months must elapse between the filing of the petition for dissolution and the granting of it, and by instituting an investigation of the real grounds for seeking the dissolution, it can decide whether the petitioners have made out a bona-fide case.

There is no doubt, in fact, that the difficulties in the way of divorce are a serious blot on our marriage system. When a marriage has proved a failure, there is nothing to be gained, from the point of view of the individual, the family, or of society, in perpetuating it. And it would be absurd to say that adultery, cruelty, and desertion are the only tokens of marital failure which society and the law can recognise. These are often, indeed, the direct result of that incompatibility of temper which is as a rule discovered only after marriage, and is the general cause of the miseries of married life. A perfect marriage system must admit its existence and allow for its effects.

Another drawback to the indissolubility of marriage may be touched upon here. It is that the various forms of petty tyranny, the various acts of mutual inconsiderateness, which are so common in married life, would be very much reduced if it were not taken for granted that they have no effect in loosening the tie. Courtship ends in marriage merely because the conquest which is the aim of courtship is assured by the marriage bond. If that bond were loosened so that either partner could readily escape, there would be a permanent endeavour on the part of each to retain the respect and affection of the other. Even as the marriage laws stand, the mere threat of breaking all but the formal connection is sometimes enough to bring an inconsiderate or indifferent partner to the old level of courtship.

This more detailed study of marriage in the light of a natural morality, shows that the institution differs from the ideal system of monogamy mainly in the spurious sanctity with which it endows the ceremony of marriage. That ceremony has, we repeat, no meaning apart from its symbolism of mutual affection and its legal influence in protecting the interests of offspring. As our moral ideas of the sex life evolve and free themselves from superstition, the ceremony will lessen in importance, and mutual affection will become the sole condition of a moral sexual association. The ceremony will, in fact, be reduced to a mere legal or social contract which the partners will agree to as potential parents, not as merely husband and wife. The marriage bond will become a social bond, not a sexual bond; it will be enforced in the real interests of posterity, not in the supposed interests of sexual morality. Under the new regime, love will be the guarantee of the virtue of sexual unions, and the child will be the sole

link which binds them to the wider interests of social well-being.

V.—In an imperfect world such as ours, an ideal implies one or more difficulties in the way of its realisation. Therefore, although it is claimed for the scientific ideal of sex that it is best suited to the wants of mankind, there are certain elements in human character and environment which prevent its full acceptance. These, it will be found, are all liable to be improved out of existence by the progress of humanity, but for our present purpose it is necessary, as remarked at the opening of this chapter, to indicate why society as a whole is not in a condition to realise the ideal in question.

The first of these reasons lies in the grossness of character which is so unmistakeable, and sometimes so painfully obvious, in a large section of modern civilised peoples. This grossness, it may be remarked, is a powerful drawback to any worthy sexual system, since it makes restraint impossible and gives the sexual life a base animal character in which the higher feelings are almost entirely absent. Mainly in the lower ranks of society, but in some degree in all ranks, we find many individuals to whom the sexual life has no tender or lofty associations, to whom it is merely a means of satisfying a passion no more refined than that of brute hunger. In both men and women this grossness of sexuality leads to prostitution, concubinage, homosexual relations, and other forms of sexual gratification in which the physical act plays the most important part. Being themselves on a low level of character, it is inevitable that their sexual life should be correspondingly base; they are constitutionally unable to rise to any height of emotional display or moral effort. In other words, they cannot realise any lofty ideal of the sex life, and particularly that

which points to a complete blending of harmonious physical, emotional, and intellectual faculties.

To such natures are due the moral crimes of seduction, desertion, and the other manifestations of selfish lust. When the grossness is less marked and becomes almost a mere excess of sexual passion, it leads to polygamy, the less immoral forms of concubinage, and other minor blemishes on sexual purity. In whatever degree it exists, it is a failing which can only be eradicated by slow educative influences, combined with an improvement in those economic conditions of woman's life which at present induce her to take part in more or less promiscuous connections for the sake of material gain. Sexual grossness is, in fact, an inheritance from generations of ancestors accustomed, especially on the male side, to a free indulgence of the passions, to a polygamous life, and to the treatment of woman as a dependent, not as an equal. The course of future generations will cure the evils which past generations have created. Meanwhile it is important to notice the inevitability of this sexual grossness, and the consequent fact that there is no sound reason for appealing to it as a drawback to any particular sexual ideal, in comparison with any other. It affects all alike, though the highest ideal naturally suffers the most.

The various forms of sexual abnormality—such as sexual inversion, and the habitual tendency to masturbation—are also drawbacks to the attainment of the scientific or any other ideal of sex. As these, however, concern only a minority of people, they need not be discussed at greater length than in the chapters already devoted to them. It is sufficient to remark in passing that such abnormalities are, like sexual grossness, equally opposed to the attainment of all sexual ideals.

A much more important matter in this connection is the fact that the progress of evolution itself renders the complete realisation of the scientific ideal of the sex life in a measure more difficult. For the result of human evolution is to make the individual, psychologically at least, more complicated and more distinct from his fellows.

Looking at the matter quite generally, we see that the members of lower species are almost all alike, and that the higher we rise in the scale of development the more numerous become those differences in appearance and character which distinguish the individuals from each other. The case is similar with the varieties of the human species. Among the lower varieties, it is easy to find members which display very much the same ruling features; among the less civilised peoples, and the less educated ranks of civilisation, it is easy to match men and to replace them. But where civilisation has proceeded to its full extent, individual members diverge more and more from the common standard and from each other; and it is difficult to find two which present the same physical, emotional, and mental features. Therefore, according as a race or section of society is more highly evolved, the attainment of a complete sexual union becomes more difficult. The case is more complicated and the odds are greater against any two persons being altogether complementary in character.

The influence of this evolutionary factor has already made itself felt. Highly educated persons are more chary than the average man or woman about entering into any permanent sexual union, not only because they have a keener appreciation of the risks involved, but because they have greater difficulty in finding partners who can fully reciprocate their feelings. They are not, in a word, so easily satis-

fied. Therefore they prolong the work of selection, sometimes so far as to become confirmed celibates; and they often make their final choice with a feeling of hesitation which is absent from the simple emotional attraction of the average being. With such highly developed natures, a sexual union, if successful, is as much higher than the common union as their character is superior to the average. But the risk of failure is, in spite of the increased insight and sympathy of the higher individual, unquestionably greater.

Here we discover an additional argument for the recognition of the so-called illicit unions as an education in the sexual life and a safeguard against the failures involved in marriages of inexperience. The one form of experience which no amount of external education can afford is experience of the other sex; and it is the one form which is essential to the sound choice of a life-long partner. In the intimacy of illicit unions, such experience, as we have already pointed out, may be readily gained without any serious risk of incurring graver responsibilities than those which the dual union itself involves. Therefore, if the higher development of men and women should ever make their sexual choice too difficult for their powers of discrimination, sterile unions may well be resorted to in order to supply the sexual experience required, if not a zest for the beauties of the sex life which will overcome the hesitation of a too-sensitive judgment.

VI.—There are two features in the life of women at the present day which combine to prevent the perfect reciprocity of the sexes which is the basis of the scientific ideal. The first is the narrow education of women; and the second is their economic inferiority and dependence.

It is not only in the mere pedagogic sense that the edu-

cation of women is narrower than that of men. Under the social conventions which press so heavily upon their liberties, they are unable to gain the experience of people and affairs which men, with their larger freedom, acquire in the ordinary course of their lives. The constant tendency of the average home is to restrict the sphere of activity of its feminine members, so much that it is quite common—though not so common now as formerly—to find the innocence of women depending far more upon their ignorance of evil than upon their deliberate choice between good and evil. And while innocence is undoubtedly good in itself, it is by no means necessary that it should be maintained at the price of a narrow outlook on life, with all its attendant limitations of character and encouragement of stupid prejudices. When one compares the mental range of the average man and woman, one is almost startled by the contrast so afforded. The former, who is engaged in business and moves about freely among people actively engaged in various enterprises, gains a good working acquaintance with individual human character, with human nature in the mass, and some insight into the machinery of social, commercial, and political life. On the other hand, a woman's interests are usually bounded by the four walls of her home; dress, the latest novel, and the petty formalities of society life, engage the greater part of her attention. Not only is her sphere of activity more narrow, but her opportunities for extending it are considerably less than in the case of the other sex. There are obstacles in the way of her adopting various professions which do not exist with men; and there is still a strong social prejudice against a woman casting off, as a man does, the various ties of home life, and making a place for herself in the world.

It is therefore a more difficult matter for a woman than for a man to get closely into touch with the actualities of life.

The result is that to the extent of her limitations in experience, woman falls short of being the complete mate of man. It is one of the most promising features of modern progress that it is rapidly opening up to women a larger sphere of activity, and by means of athletics, travel, and a more complete education, encouraging that personal independence which is so essential to the highest development of moral, social, and intellectual faculties. This broadening movement has not, however proceeded simply on educative lines; it has been assisted to a most important degree by one of the main characteristics of the later part of this century—the immense improvement in the economic status of women. There is still plenty of room for improvement, for woman as a wage-earner and in the professions is handicapped in many ways where man is not. But the tendency of the time is towards an improvement in this respect; and in the not too distant future we may realise a state of society in which it is as easy for a woman as for a man to gain economic independence. The results of this on the sexual relations promise to be so considerable that they deserve to be considered in some detail.

We have previously emphasised the fact that the marriage contract as it at present exists is not a fair and equal one. It involves the maintenance of wife and home on the part of the husband, and no similar duties on the part of the wife. And although the man has thus to incur economic responsibilities greater than those of the woman, that fact does not work out in her favour, since it makes her dependent upon the man and unable to exercise entire freedom, either in making or breaking the bond. It is a

commonplace that personal freedom depends upon economic independence; that reliance upon others for maintenance in food and home implies an obvious loss in liberty of action. Where this economic difference exists, therefore, the complete reciprocity of the marriage union is destroyed; the engaging parties do not stand upon the same footing. The attainment of the scientific ideal therefore depends upon the improvement in woman's economic status until it is, generally speaking, equal to that of man's.

A most important result of the same change will be to give the woman the opportunity of freely dictating the conditions of any sexual relation in which she may engage. We have seen how important the economic factor is in prostitution, and how frequently it impels women to marriages in which they have little or no affectional interest. The attainment of some degree of economic dependence would help to put an end to this great cause of prostitution and loveless marriages, and would so raise the dignity of the sexual life.

It is worthy of note that the great sufferers from sexual ills, in prostitution, celibacy, illicit unions, and marriage, are the women; and that their misfortunes depend in a great many cases upon their having been obliged, by stress of want, to form sexual relations in which affection had no place. Therefore women have the solution of the sexual problem to a great extent in their own hands. Once they have gained economic security, they will be able to assert their full claims to consideration, and will only enter into such relationships as promise to be of mutual benefit. They will be free to dispose of body and services as they please. They will be able, moreover, to bring about that improvement in the legal status of their sex which will

naturally follow from their economic and social equality with men. All these influences converge upon the one great desideratum—the emancipation of woman from all the bonds which prevent the full development of her faculties and their due exercise in the complete reciprocity of the ideal life of sex.

INDEX.

- AFFECTABILITY of woman, 84.
 Alcoholism and prostitution, 200.
 Anabolism and katabolism, 36.
 Animals, polygamous and mono-
 gamous, 111.
 Anti-Malthusian argument, 241.
 Apes, polygamous and mono-
 gamous, 109.
- BEAUTY and the sex instinct, 69.
 Boarding Schools and inversion,
 219.
- CELIBACY, a negation of sexuality,
 125.
 — ecclesiastic, 127.
 — emotional effects, 136.
 — emotional starvation, 139.
 — physical effects, 130.
 — the antithesis of sex life,
 272.
- Celibate genius, 140.
 Cells, male and female, 29.
 Children influence on marital life,
 122.
 Co-education of boys and girls, 225.
 Constitutional Inverts, 211.
 — Inversion, treatment
 by Schrenck-Notzing, 225.
 Continence and nervous irritation,
 137.
 Convention, hanging heavily on
 women, 121, 300.
 Copulation, 37.
 Courtesans, 188.
 Crisis of birth, 49.
 Cure of casual inversion, 224.
- DEPENDENCE of women, 121.
 De-sexualised women, 88.
 Desirability of a science of sex, 3.
 Differences, physical of man and
 woman, 78.
 Dissolution of marriage, 295.
 Divorce and separation, 291.
 Duality of man, 118.
- ECONOMIC factor in prostitution,
 188.
 — — of celibacy, 130.
 Economic independence of women,
 301.
 Education of women and the sexual
 ideal, 299.
 Educative value of a complete
 sexual life, 147.
 Effects of the study of sexual
 problems, 16.
 Electrical basis of mutual sympathy,
 68.
 Emancipation of women, 95.
 Embryo, development, 47.
 Emotional life of man and woman,
 87.
 Erotic suggestion, 70.
 Evolution of celibacy, 126.
 — love, 6.
 — reproductive acts, 37.
 — sex, 24.
 — sexual reproduction,
 29.
- FALLACY of arguments against
 science of sex, 15, 17.
 Feminine weaknesses and limita-
 tions, 96.

- Foetus, 49.
 Free love, 273.
 French law and homosexuality, 230.

 GROWTH and reproduction, 28.

 HERMAPHRODITISM, 34.
 Homosexuality and disappointment in love, 223.

 IDEALS in sex matters, 12.
 Ideal of a solution of the sex problem, 105.
 Ignorance on sex matters, 77.
 Illicit Unions a preparation for marriage, 286.
 Immorality of celibacy, 149.
 Inferiority of woman, 92.
 Intellectual effects of celibacy, 139.
 — superiority of men, 89.
 Intimacy amongst girls at boarding schools, 222.
 Inversion, an abnormality, 215.
 — and chastity, 227.
 — casual, 219.
 — inborn and accidental, 208.
 — influence of Christianity, 209.
 — sexual, 206.
 Invert and criminal, 217.
 Inverts, high intellectual capability, 214.
 Irresistability of sex passion, 73.

 KNOWLEDGE, the infinite virtue of, 19.

 LAW and sexual inversion, 229.
 Legal interference, arguments against, 234.
 Legitimacy and illicit unions, 286.
 Limitation of population, 236.
 Love an emotion, 7.
 — and personal exaltation, 75.
 — evolution of, 4.
 — versus lust, 60.

 MAGNETIC personalities, 67.
 Male and female, 25.
 — prostitutes, 222.
 Malthus on population, 236.
 Man and woman, 77.
 Marital misery, 292.
 Marriage, 105.
 — a failure, 123.
 — and prostitution, 182.
 — and the monogamous ideal, 278.
 — customs in animals, 110.
 — definition, 109.
 — the economic factor of, 120.
 — the, of convenience, 279.
 Masturbation and Christianity, 160.
 — causes, 175.
 — definition and effects, 161.
 — in animals, 155.
 — prevalence, 154.
 — sedative effect, 173.
 — unanimous opinion on, 151.
 Mechanism of reproduction, 36, 41.
 Menstruation, 51.
 Methods of research, 21.
 Military life and sexual inversion, 218.
 Miseries of marriage, 108.
 Monogamy and inheritance, 118.
 — prostitution, 187.
 — evolution, 113.
 — the ideal union, 117.
 Mono-sexual habits of savages, 159.
 Moral and immoral marriages, 122.
 — code, defiance by the majority of the people, 12.
 — drawbacks of prostitution, 203.
 — equality of the sexes, 94.
 Morality of illicit unions, 282.
 — of sexual unions, 280.
 — standard of, 13.
 Moralists, weak faith of, 9.
 Moral pioneers, need of, 21.

- Mutilation of sexual organs, 64.
 Mystery, the question of, in sex matters, 39.
- NATURAL and prudential checks on population, 238.
 Nature of sex, 24.
 Nature's prodigality, 45.
 Neo-Malthusianism, 262.
 — — in France, 264.
 Nervous irritation and continence, 127.
- OFFSPRING and the sex question, 273.
 Opposition to free investigation of sexual matters, 9.
 Organic development and evolution of sexual emotions, 62.
 Orgasm, involuntary, 134.
 Ostracism of bastards, 288.
 Over-population, the question of, 243.
- PHYSICAL difference of the sexes, 78.
 Physiology of sex, 40.
 Polygamous instincts and monogamous customs, 115.
 Polygamy and the sexual ideal, 276.
 Popular notions of love, 3.
 Population and poverty, 237.
 — limitation of, 236.
 Prejudice in sex matters, 9.
 Preliminary questions, 1.
 Preventive check, 254.
 Priestly influence and marriage, 120.
 Primitive promiscuity a fallacy, 112.
 Promiscuity, origin, 111.
 Prostitutes of ancient Greece, 183.
 Prostitute wife, 193.
 Prostitution, 115.
 — anomaly of, 180.
 — influence of Christianity, 184.
 — in primitive society, 181.
- Prostitution, physical effects, 195.
 — relation to marriage, 182.
 Protoplasm, 27.
 Psychology of sex, 59.
 Puberty, 50.
- RELIGIOUS fallacy of popular notions, 4.
 Religious prostitution, 180.
 Reproduction by conjugation, 29.
 — male and female elements, 25.
 — simplest forms of, 26.
 Reproductive act, 44.
 — organs, the primitive, 34.
 — phenomena, 26.
 Rut and menstruation, 54.
- SCIENCE of sex, inseparable from moral questions, 8.
 — — the possibility and desirability, 2.
 Scientific ideal of sex, 272.
 — method in dealing with the problem of sex, 15.
 Seduction and desertion, 297.
 Self-restraint and celibacy, 149.
 Sense of hearing, taste and smell, and sexual emotion, 65, 71.
 — sight and sexual emotions, 68.
 — touch " " 66.
- Sex cells and their union, 4.
 — definition, 24.
 — in relation to the whole organism, 58.
 — life, 103.
 — passions, higher and lower, 59.
 — question, the practical nature of, 103.
- Sexual abnormality of prostitutes, 189.
 — activity an intellectual stimulus, 142.
 — attraction in higher animals, 38.
 — bias, 35.

Sexual conduct, hard and fast ideals,

II.

- desire before puberty, 63.
- dogmatism, 105.
- emotions, evolution, 61.
- — and the reproductive organs, 62.
- excess, 267.
- grossness, 296.
- ideal, its difficulties, 297.
- intercourse during menstruation, 53.
- inversion, 206.
- morality, 280.
- organs, exercise necessary to complete health, 133.
- organs, in the female, 43.
- phenomenon in micro-organisms, 30.
- rhythm in woman and man, 56.
- suppression, organic results, 134.

Sexuality, the essential benefit of, 272.

“Soul” and love, 4.

Specialised sexual cells, 31.

Spencer’s analysis of sex passion, 72.

— theory of progress. 242.

Spermatozoa, nature of, 42.

State regulation of vice, 197.

Superstition of marriage, 107.

THIRD sex, 88.

Truth and falsehood in sex matters, 18.

Types of sex passion, 75.

VENEREAL contagion, 197.

Vice, state regulation of, 197.

WOMAN’S past and future, 95.

Woman and social conventions, 300.

— in art and sciences, 91.

— in trade unions, 98.

Womb, functions of, 48.

Women, the principal sufferers from sexual ills, 302.

WORKS ON THE
PSYCHOLOGY AND PHYSIOLOGY OF SEX.

REFERRED TO IN THIS WORK.

Carpenter, Edw. Love's Coming of Age.

Darwin, Charles. The Descent of Man and Selection in Relation to Sex.

By a Doctor of Medicine. Elements of Social Science.

Ellis, Havelock. Man and Woman, a Study of Human Secondary Sexual Characters.

Ellis, Havelock. Studies in the Psychology of Sex, 2 vols.

Fere, Ch. The Pathology of Emotions. Translated by Dr. Robt. Park.

Fere, Ch. The Sexual Instinct.

Finck, H. T. Romantic Love and Personal Beauty, 2 vols.

Geddes and Thomson. The Evolution of Sex. Contemporary Science Series.

Heinzen, Karl. The Rights of Woman and the Sexual Relations.

Krafft-Ebing. Psychopathia Sexualis.

Letourneau, Ch. The Evolution of Marriage. Contemporary Science Series.

Mortimer, Geoffrey. Chapters on Human Love.

Nisbet, J. F. Marriage and Heredity.

Roux, J. The Psychology of the Sexual Instinct.

Tarnowsky, B. The Sexual Instinct and its Morbid Manifestations.

Westermarck, Edw. The History of Human Marriage.







LONDON HOSPITAL
MEDICAL COLLEGE
LIBRARY

